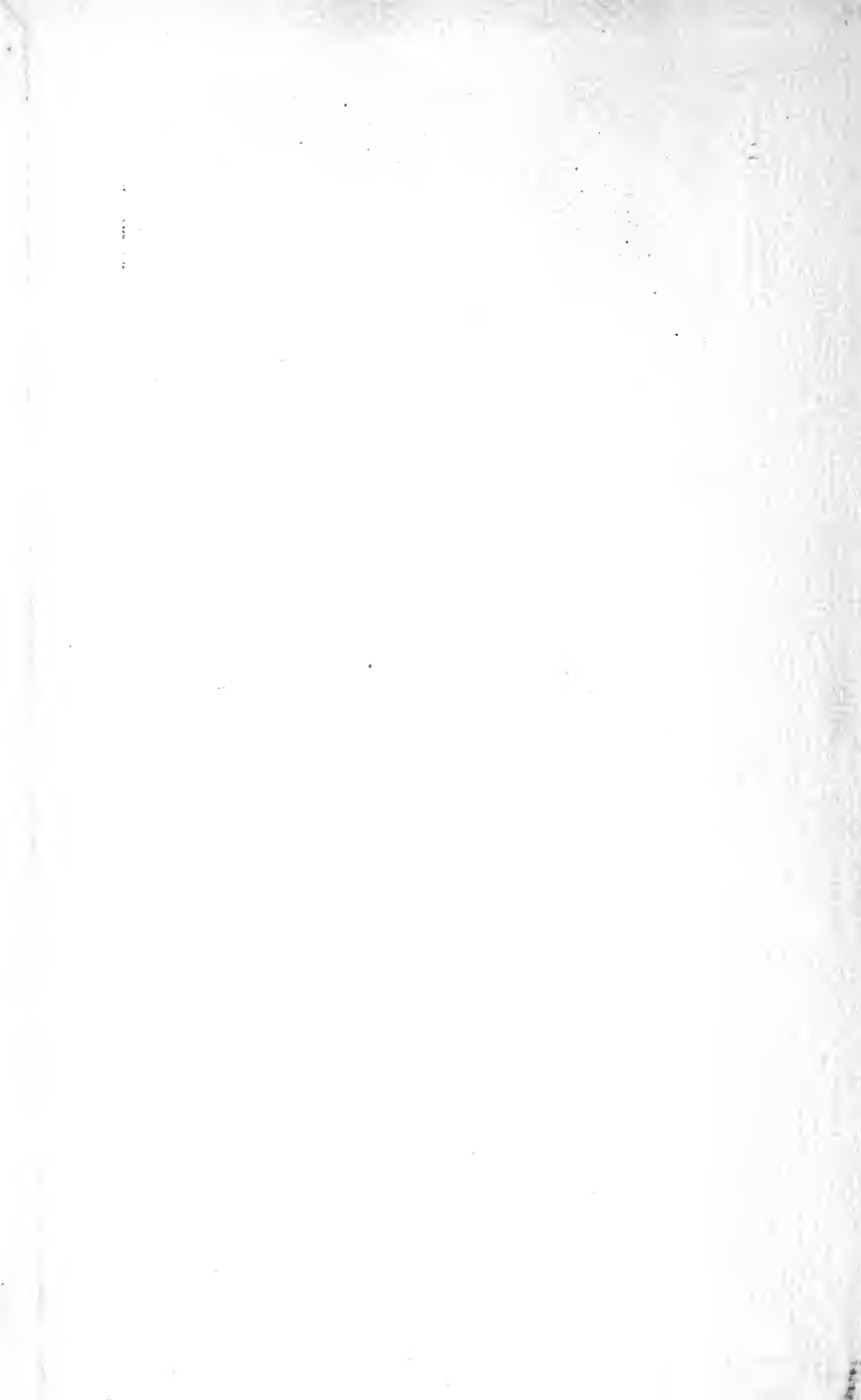


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THE JESUIT RELATIONS  
AND  
ALLIED DOCUMENTS

VOL. XVII



*The edition consists of seven  
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*No. 203*

*The Bancroft & Co.*



1. De La Torre et matrina Joana  
 manne. 9. Elias nomen datus est  
 Anno dñi 1645 die 30 Augusti Ego Jacobus  
 Buten, sacerdos. J. Sacerdos baptizavi et confirmavi  
 puellam 6 menses natam filiam Mariæ Margarete  
 et matris. 1645 paratus dies 9. Claudia  
 vel claudina nomen datus est. paratus fuit  
 Joannes de Camp. De Ben. die matrina Joana  
 manne  
 Mortua est Anno dñi 1645 die 30 Aug. Ego Jacobus Buten  
 Margarita, sac. J. Sacerdos. baptizavi et confirmavi natam  
 2 menses filiam Petri de K. Sacerdos et T. S. K. 1645  
 bni Margaritæ nomen dñi. Petrus de Ben. die de Ben. die  
 Petrus Angelus nomen dñi. Petrus de Ben. die  
 matrone.

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

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TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS  
OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES  
IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITAL-  
IAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLA-  
TIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY  
PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. XVII

HURONS AND THREE RIVERS: 1639-1640

CLEVELAND: The Burrows Brothers  
Company, PUBLISHERS, MDCCCXCVIII

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- I. Photographic facsimile of handwriting of  
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## PREFACE TO VOL. XVII

Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1639 (Doc. XXXIV.) is, like the majority of the regular series, in two parts,—the first (by Le Jeune) devoted to the field at large, with especial reference to the Lower St. Lawrence region, and the second (by Jerome Lalemant) giving an account of the year's work among the Hurons. Part I., begun in our Vol. XV., was concluded in Vol. XVI., which also contained the first two chapters of Part II., concluded in the present volume.

Following is a synopsis of the material contained in this volume:

XXXIV. Father Lalemant continues his account to Le Jeune (his superior, at Quebec) of the Huron mission. He briefly reviews the year's work, and, though the missionaries still have many difficulties to contend with, he looks forward hopefully to the future. He enumerates the baptisms of the past year. Many of these conversions have occurred among the Wenrôhronons, a tribe forced by its weakness to take refuge with the Hurons, who receive the strangers with the utmost kindness and hospitality,—even meeting them halfway, to aid them in carrying their goods and infant children. The hardships of the journey are, nevertheless, so great that many of the refugees die on the way, and those who survive are afflicted by illness. In this emergency, the Fathers are able to render great aid, especially as their do-

mestics, or donnés, have learned in Europe the use of the lancet and other remedies; thus they are enabled to reach the savages, and minister at once to their temporal and spiritual necessities. Most of the refugees have settled at Ossossané, and the infant church in that village now numbers almost sixty persons, which affords the missionaries great consolation. Valuable aid in their labors is given by the earliest real convert, Joseph Chihwatenhwa, who improves every opportunity to profess his faith and to exhort his countrymen to embrace it. On Christmas night, "not contenting himself with one Mass, he hears five in succession,—during most of them, on his knees; this, for a Barbarian, who has never known what that posture is, might well pass for a petty martyrdom." While dangerously ill, and delirious, "his utterances and ravings are only about the things of God and the Faith;" and, going to the fire, he defies imaginary enemies to "burn him, and see if it is in earnest he believes, or only with his lips."

Lalemant reports that several causes have aided the progress of their work—the patience and courage of the pioneer missionaries, despite persecutions and dangers; the irreproachable lives led by lay Frenchmen in the Huron country; the aid of Joseph Chihwatenhwa, just mentioned; the favors and graces of the Virgin Mary; and finally, "the holy prayers and devotions of so many good souls in France,"—to which last, the writer, like St. Francis Xavier, ascribes great power and efficacy.

The writer narrates their change of residence from Ihonatiria to Teanaustayaé, the most important of the Huron villages. He enumerates the conversions, since that event; but regrets that many persons, who were baptized when in danger of death, now fail to

appreciate the benefits of the holy rite. He then relates "the most noteworthy particulars of these baptisms." The Hurons, having captured in war over a hundred Iroquois prisoners, bring these home, and, according to their custom, put many of them to death, with most cruel torments. "All those," says Lalemant, "who were assigned to the Villages where we have residences, or which are near these, were, thank God, instructed and baptized. . . . These afterward displayed so much fortitude in their torments that our Barbarians resolved no longer to allow us to baptize these poor unfortunates, reckoning it a misfortune to their country when those whom they torment shriek not at all, or very little. Indeed, this has given us so much trouble since then, that there has not been one of these for whose baptism we have not been obliged to give battle to those who are their Masters and Guardians; and sometimes it has been necessary to atone for this violence by some present." One of these prisoners, an Oneida chieftain, encourages his companion in misery by reminding him of the blessedness prepared for them in heaven. The hideous cruelties inflicted on this chief are related at length; he dies at last, and "we have reason to believe that this brave spirit now enjoys in heaven the freedom of the children of God, since even his enemies loudly exclaimed that there was something more than human within him, and that without doubt baptism had given him his strength and courage, which surpassed all that they had ever seen."

The Father then narrates the birth of their little church in Teanaustayaé, where about fifteen persons receive baptism on New Year's day, 1639, others being from time to time added to this number. He then describes the establishment of the new mission

at Scanonaenrat, and states that it has gained, since the beginning of the year, about twenty converts. Among those baptized was "a poor Hiroquois prisoner," who "during his last and fatal night" of torments, had endeavored to choke himself. "This obliged the Fathers to go and visit him a little while before the final cruelties were exercised upon him, to make him acknowledge his fault, to lead him to accuse himself thereof, and to ask pardon for it. Having done this, he was granted absolution; and two hours later he was boiling in a kettle, of which the inmates of the Fathers' cabin were invited to come and get their share."

The Fathers had hoped to begin other missions, but find it necessary to devote all their care to the up-building of the three churches already established. In the summer, the savages being then scattered in various directions, the missionaries spend a little time in rest and spiritual refreshment, and then make short journeys to the neighboring villages, baptizing here and there a few converts,—among these, several Iroquois prisoners, who are afterward tortured to death.

Lalemant goes on to describe the obstacles and difficulties that beset their work,—hindrances raised by the evil demons that rule the land of the Hurons. The "black gowns" are again accused of spreading disease and death, to the ruin of the country; their instructions to neophytes are interrupted by infidel blasphemies; snowballs or clubs are flung at them as they pass, or through the openings in their cabins; and they are even threatened with death. The demons aforesaid have sent certain New England Indians into these regions, who repeat the calumnies against the Jesuits, that they have learned from the

English. Even some of the native Christians think that the Fathers cause their death, through love to them, that they may the sooner enter upon the bliss of Paradise. The converts also are persecuted, threatened, and almost ostracized by their own people; and from this arises the chief anxiety of the missionaries, that their flock may, despite all their efforts, be led back to the paths of evil. Notwithstanding the ignorance and weakness of the neophytes, there are some of them who, through their faith and virtue, daily awaken in the Fathers feelings of consolation and gratitude.

Lalemant describes various feasts, dances, and other superstitious ceremonies, especially those celebrated by the savages as a result of their dreams,—these latter being directly inspired by the devil. This belief of the Fathers is confirmed by the tales of the old men, whose traditions state that these solemnities were taught them by the demons. They regard these observances as affairs of great importance, and by them regulate all their proceedings. The Father describes their ceremony of “marrying the seine” to young girls; also the game of “dish,”—in which latter they think success depends mainly upon their charms and dreams. He recounts their devotion to their *Ascwandics*, or “familiar demons,”—a sort of fetich, which is kept in a pouch, and to which its owner prefers his request for any desired article or event. “Some of these are more positive and efficacious than others. Some buy them from the *Algonquains*, who are reputed to have excellent ones, and this is the most costly and precious merchandise of the country; others have inherited them from their relatives.”

Lalemant again mentions the practices of the med-

icine men; and closes by invoking the prayers of the faithful to aid the missionaries in their struggle against these several agencies of the devil.

XXXV. Jerome Lalemant writes to Cardinal Richelieu (March 28, 1640), mentioning the successes and the hindrances of the Huron mission, and requesting that he will interfere, in behalf of the savage allies of the French, to check the hostile advances of the Iroquois, who are encouraged and incited by the English and Flemish (Dutch) colonists on the coast. If this be not done, he dreads the ruin of the Hurons, and the consequent cessation of the mission work.

XXXVI. Jerome Lalemant writes (April 1, 1640) a brief letter, apparently to the Father General at Rome, summarizing the progress of the Huron mission, and mentioning the dangers, even to life, that have menaced them during the year. Of late, persecution had prevented any increase in the number of converts, and their last-formed church has been nearly dispersed; but their faith remains unshaken.

XXXVII. Jacques Buteux sends (in 1640) to the Father General a brief epitome of the work accomplished in the mission at Three Rivers. This has been more successful than that among the Hurons,—principally because of the influence exerted by the new Indian colony at Sillery, and of Montmagny's excellent government. He mentions the great extent of the field, in which they are the only laborers, and the need of additional men, who should be "of good health, excellent memory, and proved virtue."

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., February, 1898.



XXXIV (concluded)

LE JEUNE'S RELATION, 1639

PARIS: SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, 1640

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Part I. (Le Jeune's *Relation* proper) of this document was given in Volumes XV. and XVI. ; and, in Volume XVI., the first two chapters of Part II. (Lalemant's Huron report for the year). In the present volume, we give chaps. iii.-viii. of Part II., thus concluding the document.

## [25] CHAP. III.

DE L'ESTAT GENERAL DU CHRISTIANISME EN CES  
CONTRÉES

**E**NUISAGEANT de loin les affaires du Christianisme de la Nouvelle France, & particulièrement celle des Hurons, elle me sembloient bien à la vérité, vn ouvrage particulier de la Prouidence diuine. Mais ie me suis beaucoup dauantage trouué confirmé en ceste pensée, les ayant veus de pres. Qui n'eust dit, lors que pour la premiere fois, nos Peres arriuerent en ce païs, que le meilleur eust esté, qui en eust eu le pouuoir, de s'establr dans les premieres & principales places, comme nous sommes maintenant; Mais si cela eust esté, qu'y eussions nous fait n'ayans aucune notion ny usage de la langue, ny cognoissance des coustumes du païs, & de l'humeur des Barbares; Il y a grande apparence, que n'ayans rien d'ailleurs qui nous peût faire subsister dans l'esprit & l'estime de ces Sauvages, nous fussions tombez dans vn tel mespris general de [26] tout le païs, que nous eussions eu de la peine de nous en releuer, & nous mettre de long temps en estat de les assister effectiuement. Et en effect, ie ne sçay si ce n'est point de là qu'est arriué, qu'o a si peu profité au lieu où on s'estoit premierement estably.

Dieu donc disposa les affaires de la sorte, que nous fusmes contraints au commencement, d'arrester en vn petit coin du païs; où on a forgé les armes neces-

## [25] CHAP. III.

## OF THE GENERAL STATE OF CHRISTIANITY IN THESE COUNTRIES.

**S**URVEYING from afar the progress of Christianity in New France, and especially among the Hurons, it seemed to me, in very truth, a special work of divine Providence. But I have been far more strongly confirmed in this idea since I have had a nearer view of it. Who would not have said, when our Fathers first arrived in this country, that it would be best for those who could do so to establish themselves in the chief and more important localities, as we are now? But if that had been done, what could we have accomplished there,—having no idea of the language or experience therein, and no knowledge of the customs of the country and the disposition of the Barbarians? It is very probable that, having nothing else which could give us a foothold in the understanding and esteem of these Savages, we would have incurred so general contempt [26] throughout the country, that we could with difficulty have recovered therefrom, or for a long time have been in a position to give efficient aid to these people. And, indeed, I do not know if this were not the reason why the people of the place where we first fixed our residence profited so little.

God so arranged matters, then, that we were obliged to settle at first in a little corner of the country, where we forged the arms necessary for war,—

faire à la guerre, ie veux dire qu'on s'y est estudié à la cognoissance & vsage de la langue, & qu'on y a commencé à la reduire en preceptes, en quoy il a fallu estre à soy-mesme & maistre & escholier tout ensemble, avec vne peine incroyable, & de là au bout de trois années, on est venu, pour ainsi parler, enseigne déployée au bourg d'Offofané, vn des plus considerables de tout le païs; en l'année d'apres au bourg de Teanaustayaé le principal de tous, laissant entierement, & abandonnant la premiere demeure, à faute d'habitans, & de personnes capables de profiter de nos traux, tous presque estans dissipez ou morts de maladie. Ce qui semble, non sans fondement, estre vne punition du Ciel, pour le mespris qu'ils ont fait de la [27] grace de la visite, que la diuine bonté leur auoit ménagée.

De prem[i]ere abord on a eu grand soing des enfans & des plus aagées malades à l'extremité, qu'on ne laissoit point mourir sans Baptesme, ou au moins sans instruction pour ceux qui en auoit besoin; Nos Peres entrant librement par toutes les cabanes pour ce fuiet. C'est vn bien & vn aduantage qui ne se peut estimer; & ceux à qui il en a pensé couster la vie plusieurs fois, ainsi qu'il se peut voir dās la Relation de l'an passé, sont si satisfaits de ceste conqueste, qu'ils en exposeroient encore mille s'il les auoient, pour se là conseruer.

Dans les instructions generales & particulieres, comme aussi dans les courses ou missions, on gaigne par fois quelques esprits: quoy que pour le present ce ne soient d'ordinaires que mocqueries, & menaces, qui seront, comme i'espere, la semence qui produira en son temps le fruit de l'Euangile, & la reduction generale de ces peuples à la foy.

I mean to say that we there devoted ourselves to the study and practice of the language, and began to reduce it to rules; in this it was necessary to be at once both master and pupil to oneself, with incredible difficulty. Thence, at the end of three years we went with flying colors, so to speak, to Ossosané, one of the principal villages of the whole country; the next year, to Teanaustayaé, the most important village of all, leaving and entirely abandoning the first residence, for lack of inhabitants there, and of persons capable of profiting by our labors,—nearly all being scattered or dead from the malady, which seems to be, not without reason, a punishment from Heaven for the contempt that they showed for the [27] favor of the visit that the divine goodness had procured for them.

At the outset, we gave special care to the children and to elderly sick persons who were near death; these we did not allow to die without Baptism, or at least without instruction to those who most needed it, our Fathers freely entering all the cabins for this purpose. This is a boon and an advantage which cannot be estimated; and those whom it almost cost their lives several times, as may be seen in the Relation of last year, are so satisfied with this victory that they would expose a thousand more lives, if they had them, to maintain it.

In the general and individual instructions, as also in our journeys or missions, we occasionally gain a few souls, although for the present there are usually only mockeries and threats,—which will be, I hope, the seed that shall produce, in its own time, the fruit of the Gospel, and the general subjection of these people to the faith.

Nous auons quelquefois douté, scauoir si on pouoit esperer la conuersion de ce païs sans qu'il y eust effusion de sang: le principe receu ce semble dans l'Eglise de [28] Dieu que le sang des Martyrs est la semence des Chrestiens, me faisoient conclurre pour lors, que cela n'estoit pas à esperer: voire mesme qu'il n'estoit pas à souhaiter, considéré la gloire qui reuient à Dieu de la constance des Martyrs, du sang desquels tout le reste de la terre ayant tantost esté abreuué, ce seroit vne espece de malediction, que ce quartier du monde ne participast point au bon-heur d'auoir contribué à l'esclat de ceste gloire.

Mais i'aduoüe que depuis que ie suis icy, & que ie vois ce qui se passe, scauoir les combats, les batailles, les attaques, & les assauts generaux à toute la Nature, que souffrent tous les iours icy les ouuriers de l'Euangile, & cependant leur patience, leur courage & leur application continuelle à pourfuiure leur pointe, ie commence à douter si quelque autre martyre est necessaire que celui-cy, pour l'effet que nous pretendons: & ie ne doute point qu'il ne se trouuast plusieurs personnes qui aymassent mieux tout d'un coup recevoir vn coup de hache sur la teste, que de mener les années durant la vie qu'il faut mener icy tous les iours, trauaillant à la conuersion de ces barbares.

[29] Si vous les allez trouuer dans leurs cabanes; & il y faut aller plus souuent que tous les iours, si vous voulez vous acquiter comme il faut de vostre deuoir: vous y trouuerez vne petite image de l'Enfer, ny voyant pour l'ordinaire que feu & fumée, & des corps nuds deçà & delà noirs & à demy rostis, pelle-mellez avec les chiens, qui font aussi chers que les enfants

We have sometimes wondered whether we could hope for the conversion of this country without the shedding of blood; the principle received, it seems, in the Church of [28] God, that the blood of Martyrs is the seed of Christians, made me at one time conclude that this was not to be expected,—yea, that it was not even to be desired; considering the glory that redounds to God from the constancy of the Martyrs, with whose blood all the rest of the earth has been so lately drenched, it would be a sort of curse if this quarter of the world should not participate in the happiness of having contributed to the splendor of this glory.

But I confess,—now that I am here, and see what is taking place, namely, the combats, battles, attacks, and the general assaults against all Nature, which the Gospel laborers suffer here every day, and at the same time their patience, their courage, and their continual assiduity in pursuing their object,—that I begin to wonder whether any other martyrdom than this is necessary for the results that we aim at; and I do not doubt that many persons could be found who would prefer to receive at once a hatchet blow upon the head, than to spend their years enduring the life that one must every day lead here, working for the conversion of these barbarians.

[29] If you go to visit them in their cabins,—and you must go there oftener than once a day, if you would perform your duty as you ought,—you will find there a miniature picture of Hell,—seeing nothing, ordinarily, but fire and smoke, and on every side naked bodies, black and half roasted, mingled pell-mell with the dogs, which are held as dear as the children of the house, and share the beds, plates, and

de la maison, & dans vne communauté de liêt, de plat & de nourriture avec leurs maistres. Tout y est dans la pouffiere, & si vous entrez dedans, vous ne ferez pas au bout de la cabane, que vous ferez tout couuert de noirceur de fuye, d'ordure & de pauvreté.

Leurs paroles fouuent ne font que blasphemés contre Dieu & nos mystères; & des iniures contre nous accompagnées d'ingratitude incroyable, nous reprochant que ce font nos visites & nos remèdes qui les font malades & mourir; & que nostre séjour icy est la seule cause de tous leurs maux. Si vous leur voulez parler pour les instruire, il faudra quelquefois attendre les heures entières deuant que de trouuer l'occasion de leur dire à propos vn bon mot; & apres toutes vos peines & vos [30] visites, vn fonge, qui est à proprement parler le Dieu du païs, en defera plus en vne nuit, que vous n'aurez auancé en trente iours: & vous pourroit bien, pour toute recompense, procurer vn coup de hache ou de fleche. S'ils viennent en vostre cabane, ne pensez pas que vous puissiez facilement leur refuser vostre porte; ny quand ils font dedans, les gouverner à vostre mode. Ils se mettent où il leur plaist, & n'en sortent pas quand il vous plaist, Il faut qu'ils entrent par tout, & qu'ils voient tout, & si vous les volez empêcher, ce font querelles & reproches avec iniures. Et dans tout cela il faut filer doux: vn coup de hache est bien tost donné par ces Barbares: & le feu mis à vne escorce, & de recherche de iustice pour le crime, il n'y en a point dans le païs, & au plus qu'on en pourroit attendre, ce seroit quelques presens. De sorte qu'il faut tousiours estre en garde, & sur la patience, & faire estat qu'on n'a icy, & moins encore qu'en tout autre lieu du monde, aucun moment de sa vie assuré.



food of their masters. Everything is in a cloud of dust, and, if you go within, you will not reach the end of the cabin before you are completely befouled with soot, filth, and dirt.

Their words are often only blasphemies against God and our mysteries, and insults against us, accompanied with incredible evidences of ingratitude,—hurling at us the reproach that it is our visits and our remedies which cause them to sicken and die, and that our sojourn here is the sole cause of all their troubles. If you wish to converse, in order to instruct them, it will sometimes be necessary to wait whole hours before finding opportunity to say to them at the right time one profitable word; and after all your pains and your [30] visits, a dream, which is, properly speaking, the God of the country, will undo more in one night than you will have accomplished in thirty days; and you may, indeed, as your sole reward, get a stroke from the hatchet or arrow. If they come to your cabin, do not imagine that you can easily refuse them admittance, or, when they are within, manage them in your own way. They sit down where they please, and do not go away at your pleasure. They must enter everywhere, and see everything, and if you try to prevent them, there are quarrels and reproaches and insults. And, in all this, one must act submissively; a blow from the hatchet is soon given by these Barbarians, and the bark set on fire; as to seeking redress for the crime, there is none in the country, and the most one could expect would be a few presents. In consequence, one must always be on the watch and be patient, and consider that here, still less than in any other place in the world, can one be sure of a moment of his life.

Adioustez à ce que deffus, que vostre facon de loger, de coucher, & de viure estant en tout semblable à celle des Sauvages; [13 i.e., 31] la nature ne trouue guere de consolation parmy tous ces trauaux. Vn peu de bled d'Inde bouilly dedans l'eau, & pour le meilleur ordinaire du païs, vn peu de poisson puant de pourriture dedans, ou de la pouffiere de poisson sec pour tout affaiffonnement, voila le manger & le boire ordinaire du païs. Pour l'extraordinaire vn peu de pain de leur bled, cuit sous la cendre, sans aucun leuain, ou l'on mesle quelquefois quelques febves ou fruiçts sauuages: Voila vne des grandes regales du païs. Le poisson frais & la chaffe, sont choses si rares, qu'elles ne valent pas le parler, y ayant toutes les peines du monde d'en recouurer pour les malades. Vne natte sur la terre, ou sur vne escorce, est vostre coucher. Le feu vostre chandelle. Les trous par ou passe la fumée, vos fenestres qui ne ferment iamais. Des perches courbées couuertes d'escorces, vos murailles & vostre lambris, par où le vent bafle de tous costez. En vn mot tout le reste à l'auenant des Sauvages, excepté le vestir, auquel encore faut-il commencer à se reduire.

Je ne d'y rien de la rigueur des faifons; de l'incommodité des chemins qu'on ne peut faire qu'à pied où sur le dos d'vn autre, [32] des dangers continuels des Ennemis du païs, qui sont tous les iours à vos portes, & remplissent tout de frayeur nouuelle, arriuant à toute heure de quelque massacre ou prisonnier qu'ils ont enleué, & de leur resolution de venir brusler tout le païs. Je ne dis rien dis-ie de tout cela, & d'infinies autres petites disgraces qui accompagnent & s'enfuient de tout ce que deffus. Pour conclurre en fin

Add to the above that your way of lodging, sleeping, and eating being in every respect similar to that of the Savages, [13 i.e., 31] nature finds but few alleviations amid all these hardships. A little Indian corn boiled in water, and for the better fare of the country a little fish, rank with internal rottenness, or some powdered dried fish as the only seasoning,—this is the usual food and drink of the country; as something extra, a little bread made of their corn, baked under the cinders, without any leaven, in which they sometimes mix some beans or wild fruits; this is one of the great dainties of the country. Fresh fish and game are articles so rare that they are not worth mentioning, it being all the trouble imaginable to secure these for the sick. A mat upon the ground, or upon a piece of bark, is your bed; the fire, your candle; the holes through which the smoke passes, your windows, which are never closed; bent poles, covered with bark, your walls and your roof, through which the wind enters from all sides. In a word, all remains in keeping with the Savages, except the clothing, to which we must yet begin to reduce ourselves.

I say nothing of the severity of the seasons; of the inconveniences of the roads, which can be traveled only on foot or upon some one's back; [32] of continual dangers from the Enemies of the country, who are daily at your gates, filling all with a terror renewed every hour by some massacre, or some prisoner whom they have carried away, and by their determination to come and consume the whole country,—I say nothing, I repeat, of all this, and of an infinite number of other little misfortunes which accompany and follow all the above. As a final con-

qu'il semble qu'une seule année de patience & de courage, parmy ces combats & batailles continuelles vaut bien un petit martyre, & qu'ainfi, quoy qu'il n'y ait point encore de sang de martyrs répandu, nous n'avons pas toutesfois fuiet de defefperer la conuerfion de ces peuples.

Il en fera toutefois tout ce qu'il plaira à Dieu: & on s'attend bien que le fort armé, qui commande abfolument dans ce païs depuis tant de fiecles, ne laiffera pas fi facilement efchapper de fes mains tant de vieilles & anciennes conquêtes; & qu'il fera tout poffible pour prendre & exterminer tous ceux qui s'opposent à fon empire, & qui n'en cherchent que la ruine. Mais qu'il faffe du pis qu'il pourra, toft ou tard le tout reüffira à fa plus grande confufion, [33] & à l'avancement de la gloire de Dieu, quand ce ne feroit qu'en juftifiant fa bonté & mifericorde, fur ce païs. Et rien cependant n'arriuera fans fa permiffion, pour l'amour duquel mourir, c'est viure; & eftre abbatu, c'est vaincre & triompher.

que fi ce que dit un des SS. Peres de l'Eglife eft veritable, que les bien-faits prefents de la diuine Maiefté enuers les hommes feruent de caution & d'affurance pour ceux de l'aduenir; le repos, la confiance, la ioye & la confolation dans laquelle viuent icy les ouuriers de l'Euangile parmy ce premier genre de martyre, faiét qu'on n'a pas fuiet de redouter dauantage le fecond, que le premier.

Mais deuant que de paffer plus auant à declarer l'eftat particulier, & le détail du Chriftianifme en ce païs: ie prie une fois pour toutes, tous ceux & celles qui iufques icy ont contribué aux moyens d'inftuire ces Peuples, foit par leurs prieres, foit par leurs autres

clusion, it seems as if a single year of patience and courage amid these continual struggles and battles is indeed equal to one short martyrdom; and that, therefore, although no blood of martyrs has yet been shed, we have, nevertheless, no reason to despair of the conversion of these peoples.

It will be, however, wholly as God shall please; and we fully expect that the strong man armed, who has commanded absolutely in this country during so many centuries, will not easily let slip from his hands so many old and former conquests, and that he will do all he can to capture and exterminate all those who oppose his empire, and who seek only its ruin. But let him do the worst he can; sooner or later all will result in his greatest confusion, [33] and in the advancement of the glory of God, if it be only in justifying his goodness and mercy towards this country. And yet nothing will happen without his permission, for love of whom to die is to live, and to be defeated is to conquer and triumph.

And, if what one of our Holy Fathers of the Church says is true, that the present benefactions of the divine Majesty toward men serve as a security and pledge for those of the future, then the peace, confidence, joy, and consolation in which the Gospel workers live here in this first state of martyrdom convince us that we have no reason to dread the second more than the first.

But before proceeding to make known in detail the exact condition of Christianity in this country, I beg, once for all, that all those men and women who have hitherto contributed to the means for the instruction of these Peoples, either through their prayers, or through their other charities and benefactions, or to whom

charitez & bien-faits; ou à qui Dieu en donneroit d'oresnauant la pensée, de considérer que le fruit après lequel nous trauaillons, est fruit de l'Euangile, lequel s'il doit estre bon & de durée, ne viendra [34] qu'après beaucoup de patience: & par consequent de ne se point lasser d'exercer ceste charité, la plus grande qui puisse estre exercée en ce monde. Enuifageant tousiours ces affaires avec l'œil de la foy, qui seul leur en fera veoir le merite & l'excellence; & que de si grands ouurages ne se font pas tout d'un coup. Combien faut-il en France de temps & de peine, pour conuertir vn seul heretique, ou bien quelque ieune ou vieux Pecheur? Hé qu'est-ce de cela en comparaïson de la conuersion de tout vn monde, terrestre & brutal au dernier point, enuieilly depuis tant de siècles dans ses erreurs & superstitions?

Nous nous trouuons icy comme au milieu d'une mer, où vn million de personnes se noyent: & ne sçachants auquel courir, nous sentons nos cœurs se fendre, & nous nous trouuons reduits au point d'experimenter ce que dit l'Apostre des Gentils, *Charitas Christi vrget nos*. Le malheur n'arriue qu'à faute d'ouuriers, ou plustost des moyens de les pouuoir faire icy subsister, & de les entretenir dans vn Pays, & parmy des peuples, où il faut par necessité, avec Sainct Paul, renoncer aux droicts de l'Euangile, & viure du [35] sien, au moins pour le present: si on ne veut, en vn moment, voir le tout renuersé & les affaires reduites au deffespoir.

Il sçay bien que les difficultez d'apporter de dehors dequoy y subsister, sont extremes: mais après tout, il ne laisse pas d'y auoir vn monde entier à conuertir; & n'y a point de porte plus commode pour y

God shall hereafter grant the purpose to do this, will consider that the fruit for which we labor is the fruit of the Gospel,—which, if it is to be good and durable, will only come [34] after much patience. I beg them, therefore, not to grow weary of practicing this charity, the greatest that can be exercised in this world,—looking at these matters always with the eye of faith, which alone will reveal to them the merit and excellence thereof,—and to consider also that works so important are not accomplished all at once. How much time and trouble is necessary in France to convert a single heretic, or, indeed, any Sinner, young or old? Ah! what is that in comparison with the conversion of a whole world, earthy and brutal to the last degree, grown old in its errors and superstitions during so many centuries?

We find ourselves here as if in the midst of a sea where a million persons are drowning, and, not knowing to which one we should hasten, we feel our hearts breaking, and find ourselves reduced to the point of experiencing what the Apostle of the Gentiles said, *Charitas Christi urget nos*. This misfortune occurs only through a lack of workers, or rather of means of affording them subsistence here and of maintaining them in a Country and among peoples, where one must of necessity, with Saint Paul, renounce the dues of the Gospel and live upon [35] his own means, at least for the present, if one would not see, in a moment, all overthrown, and affairs reduced to a hopeless condition.

I know very well that the difficulties of bringing hither from outside the means of subsistence are extreme; but after all, there remains here a whole world to be converted, and there is no more convenient gate

paffer, que celle où nous fommes aujourd'huy & c'est ce qui afflige nostre cœur & nostre esprit.

Que si ces pertes nous font si sensibles à qui ces peuples ne font rien; combien a-on fuiet de croire, qu'elles font considerables à celui qui leur à donné l'estre, pour les rendre bien-heureux; & de plus vne vie diuine, & son sang pour leur rachapt, Heureuses les Ames à qui le S. Esprit donne & conferue la deuotion de contribuer selon leur pouuoir à estancher la soif de IESVS Christ mourant en Croix; & à ramasser les gouttes de son sang precieux, on pour mieux dire; la marchandise dont ce sang adorable a esté le prix.

Je ne puis icy obmettre la loüâge qui est deuë à messieurs les associez de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, qui continuënt plus que iamais, à contribuer de ce [36] qu'ils peuuent pour vne si sainte entreprise. Et cét ouurage aussi bien que tous les autres de la Nouvelle France, aura à iamais vne tres-particuliere obligation à Monsieur le Cheualier de Mont-magny nostre Gouverneur; à la prudence, generosité, charité & zele duquel, il ne semble pas qu'il soit possible de rien adiouter: toutes lesquelles vertus & belles qualitez se font aussi bien sentir icy à trois cent lieux, que nous fommes de son sejour, que sur les lieux où il fait sa demeure.

Il y en a encore plusieurs autres, qui meriteroient vne bõne part à la loüange de contribuer selon leur pouuoir à vn si saint ouurage, Mais ce ne feroit iamais fait, & c'est le point, que le liure de vie en cõserue pour iamais la memoire. Pour nous, tout ce que nous pouuons, c'est de leuer les mains au Ciel, & de dire de tout nostre cœur, *de rore cæli & de pinguedine terræ, & de super sit benedictio vestra.*



through which to reach them than this where we are to-day; and it is this which afflicts our hearts and minds.

And if these losses are so keenly felt by us, to whom these peoples are nothing, how much reason have we to believe that they are important to him who has given them existence, in order to render them happy,—and, more, a divine life, and his own blood to redeem them. Happy the Souls in whom the Holy Ghost inspires and maintains the devout purpose to contribute according to their power to quench the thirst of JESUS Christ, dying upon the Cross, and to collect the drops of his precious blood,—or, to express it better, the wares of which this adorable blood was the price.

I cannot omit here the praise that is due to messieurs the associates of the Company of New France, who continue more than ever to contribute [36] what they can to so holy an enterprise. And this work, as well as all the others of New France, will always be under most special obligation to Monsieur the Chevalier de Mont-magny, our Governor, to whose prudence, generosity, charity, and zeal it does not seem possible to add anything; all of which virtues and noble qualities make themselves felt as well here where we are, three hundred leagues from his residence, as in the locality where he makes his home.

There are still many others who would merit a good share of praise for contributing according to their means to so holy a work, but that would never be completed, and the point is this, that the book of life preserves the memory thereof forever. As for us, all that we can do is to raise our hands to Heaven, and to say with all our hearts, *de rore cæli et de pinguedine terræ, et desuper sit benedictio vestra.*

## [37] CHAP. IV.

DE CE QUI EST ARRIUÉ DE PLUS REMARQUABLE EN  
LA RESIDENCE DE LA CONCEPTION AU BOURG  
D'OSSOSSANE, & PARTICULIEREMENT  
DE LA NOUVELLE EGLISE  
DE CE BOURG.

**L**E nombre des enfans baptifez en maladie en cette  
Refidence, eft de 52. dont vingt-fept s'en font  
enuolez au Ciel. Celuy des plus aagées qui  
ont efté baptifez à la mort, ou en extremité de mala-  
die, de feptante-quatre dont vingt-deux font morts,  
& comme il eft à prefumer de la bonté & mifericorde  
de Dieu, ont pris le mefme chemin du Ciel. Celuy  
des Catechumenes, baptifez en bonne fanté, de qua-  
rante-neuf.

Deuant que de declarer ce qu'il y a eû de plus  
remarquable en tout cecy, il faut que ie parle de ceux  
qui ont dauantage participé à ce bon-heur, & qui  
nous rendront en fuite, plus que iamais, adorables  
les fecrets profonds, & les abyfmes de la fageffe,  
Bonté & Prouidence diuine fur [38] fes Efleûs.

Les 8enrôhronons faifoient par le paffé vne des  
Nations affociées à la Nation Neutre, & eftoient fituez  
fur les confins du cofté des Hiroquois les Ennemis  
communs de tous ces Peuples. Tant que cette Na-  
tion d'8enrôhronons a efté en bonne intelligence avec  
ceux de la Nation Neutre, elle a efté baf tante pour  
refifter aux Ennemis, fubfifter & fe maintenir contre

## [37] CHAP. IV.

OF THE MORE REMARKABLE EVENTS THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN THE RESIDENCE OF LA CONCEPTION AT THE VILLAGE OF OSSOSSANE, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE NEW CHURCH OF THAT VILLAGE.

THE number of children baptized in sickness at this Residence is 52, of whom twenty-seven have flown away to Heaven; that of elderly persons who were baptized at death, or at the crisis of their illness, is seventy-four, of whom twenty-two died, and, as may be presumed from the goodness and mercy of God, took the same road to Heaven; that of Catechumens, baptized while in good health, forty-nine.

Before relating what was especially remarkable in all these baptisms, I must speak of those who have longest partaken of this blessing, and who will therefore render, more than ever, adorable to us the profound secrets and the abysses of divine wisdom, Goodness, and Providence respecting [38] his Elect.

The Wenrôhronons<sup>1</sup> formed in the past one of the associate Nations of the Neutral Nation, and were located on its boundaries, toward the Hiroquois, the common Enemies of all these Peoples. As long as this Nation of Wenrôhronons was on good terms with the people of the Neutral Nation, it was sufficiently strong to withstand its Enemies, to continue its existence, and maintain itself against their raids and in-

leurs courfes & inuafions: mais par ie ne fçay quel mefcontentement, ceux de la Nation Neutre s'eftans retirez & feparez d'interests auec eux, ils font demeurez en proye à leurs Ennemis, & n'euffent pas efté encore long temps fans eftre du tout exterminiez, s'ils n'euffent fongé à la retraite, & à fe mettre à couuert de la protection, & affociation de quelque autre Nation.

Tout bien confideré, ils aduiferent qu'ils ne pouuoient mieux choifir que celle de nos Hurons. Ils deputent donc les plus intelligens d'entr'eux, pour en venir faire la propofition: qui fut faite aux confeils & affemblées particulieres & generales de tout le Païs: où en fin fut conclu, de les receuoir, leur arriuée ne feruant pas de [39] peu à la defenfe & conseruation du païs.

En fuite de ceste refolution, le temps: fut pris pour les aller querir, & affifter en leur voyage: foit pour les foulager, au portage de leurs meubles & enfans, n'y ayant en toutes ces contrées autre voiture par terre, que celle de la teſte, ou des eſpaules des hommes & des femmes; foit auffi pour les defendre de leurs ennemis communs, & leur faire eſcorte,

Quelque foulagement qu'on leur peuſt donner, la fatigue & les incommoditez d'un tel voyage, de plus de quatre-vingts lieuës, où eſtoient plus de ſix cens perſonnes, dont les femmes & les petits enfans faiſoient le plus grand nombre; furent ſi grandes, que pluſieurs en moururēt en chemin, & preſque tous arriuèrent malades, ou le furent incontinent apres.

Ce Bourg fut le premier du païs où ils aborderent, & auffi-toſt que la nouuelle fut venuë qu'ils aprochoient, tout le monde forti[t], pour aller au deuant;

vasions; but the people of the Neutral Nation having, through I know not what dissatisfaction, withdrawn and severed their relations with them, these have remained a prey to their Enemies; and they could not have remained much longer without being entirely exterminated, if they had not resolved to retreat and take refuge in the protection and alliance of some other Nation.

All things considered, they decided that they could not do better than to choose that of our Hurons. Accordingly, they deputed the most intelligent among them to come and make such proposal, which was done in the councils and assemblies, both special and general, of the whole Country; here, finally, it was concluded to receive them, their arrival serving not a [39] little for the defense and preservation of the country.

In consequence of this resolution they took the time to go after them and assist them in their journey, both to relieve them in carrying their household goods and children,—as they have in all these countries no other conveyance on land than the heads or shoulders of men and women,—and also to defend them from their common enemies and act as escort for them.

Notwithstanding the help that could be given them, the fatigue and inconveniences of such a voyage—of more than eighty leagues, made by over six hundred persons, of whom the majority were women and little children—were so great that many died on the way, and nearly all were sick when they arrived, or immediately afterwards.

This Village was the first one in the country, at which they arrived; and as soon as the news of their

& les Capitaines s'y trouuerent, & exhorterent leurs gens avec tant d'ardeur & de compassion, à prendre courage, & assister ces pauvres estrangers, que ie ne fçay pas qui eust peu faire dauantage le Predicateur [40] Chrestien le plus zelé pour les œuvres de charité, & de misericorde.

Ils furent incontinent distribuez par les principaux Bourgs du païs. La plus grande part toutefois s'arresta en celuy-cy, comme vn de plus ayzez & accommodez de tous; mais par tout où ils furent receus, les meilleures places dans les cabane leur furent données; les greniers ou quaiffes de bled ouuertes avec liberté d'en disposer comme si elles leur appartenoient.

Le gros arriua en ce bourg, au mesme temps que i'y arriuay avec quelques domestiques intelligens à la faignée, & aux remedes, que nous auions amené de France: & iamais rien ne se rencontra plus à propos. Car aussi-tost avec ce secours, on courut aux plus malades, qui estoient en danger de mort, pour auoir entrée par là, de pouruoir à leur salut. C'est icy que nous parurent premierement les secrets adorables de la bonté de Dieu, sur ces pauvres refugiez, car ce secours vint si à propos pour quelques-vns d'entr'eux, tant enfans que plus aagez qu'il le trouua que depuis leur arriuée iusques à la mort, il n'y eust que le temps qu'il falloir, pour les instruire & baptifer.

[41] Depuis ce temps, ces malades donnerent tant d'occupation, qu'ils emporterent, l'espace de quelque temps, la plus grand part de l'employ de nos ouuriers, qui ne pouuoient retenir les regrets & les plaintes innocentes, de ne pouuoir pour ce fuiet, vacquer à la

approach had been brought, every one went out to meet them; the Captains were present, and exhorted their people with so much earnestness and compassion to take courage and help these poor strangers, that I do not know what more could have been done by a Christian Preacher, [40] most zealous in works of charity and mercy.

They were immediately distributed through the principal Villages of the country; the greater part of them, however, remained in this Village, as one of the most commodious and suitable of all. But, wherever they were received, the best places in the cabins were given to them, the granaries or chests of corn were opened and they were given liberty to dispose of them as if they were their own.

The main body of them arrived in this village at the same time that I came here with some domestics whom we had brought from France, who were skillful in bleeding and in the use of remedies; and nothing ever happened more opportunely. For, with this help, we immediately hastened to the very sick, who were in danger of death, that we might, being thus admitted, provide for their salvation. It was here that the adorable secrets of the goodness of God towards these poor refugees first appeared to us; for this help came so opportunely to some of them, both children and older people, that it was found that between their arrival and their death there was only the time necessary to instruct and baptize them.

[41] From that time, these sick people gave us so much to do that, for some time, they almost wholly engrossed the attention of our workers, who could not repress their regrets and innocent complaints at not being able, on this account, to devote themselves

culture de ceux de leur quartier, dont, comme nous auons dit, vn chacū est chargé. Mais ils ne s'apperceuoient pas, que tandis qu'ils gardent l'ordre de la charité, la misericorde de Dieu passe par dessus l'ordre de leurs pensées & industrie, & aduance luy mesme leur tasche, qu'ils estimoient de beaucoup reculer.

Deux mois donc ou enuiron apres l'arriuée de ces pauvres estrangers, leurs malades commençant à diminuer: nos ouuriers eurent plus de temps & de loisir, de visiter les champs, que par le passé ils auoientensemencé. Et voila qu'aussi-tost, contre toute leur attente, ils en apperçoient la plus part, tout disposez à la moisson, rencontrants les esprits de plusieurs de ceux qu'ils auoient par le passé cultiué, pleins de satisfaction, & de conuiction des veritez de la Foy, & ne desirans autre chose, que d'estre au plustost baptisez.

[42] Leur ferueur passa si auant, que nous nous trouuâmes obligez de mettre en deliberation, si nous les differerions iusques aux temps qu'il semble que l'Eglise destine pour le Baptisme des Cathecumenes, sçauoir Pasques & la Pentecoste: mais l'un & l'autre se trouuoit trop esloigné; tout bien considéré, il fut resolu, d'ouurir à ce commencement la porte à tous ceux qui se presenteroient, à mesure qu'ils s'en trouueroient capables; puis qu'il estoit question d'une nouvelle Eglise, à laquelle il falloit songer de donner l'estre, deuant que des s'appliquer, à luy donner sa perfection. Que toutefois il y falloit proceder avec beaucoup de retenuë, & nous souuenir tousiours que nous auions a faire à des Sauuages; à la dissimulation & legereté desquels il ne semble pas qu'il y ait rien de pareil.



to the cultivation of the people of their quarter, with whom, as we have said, each one is charged. But they did not perceive that, while they observe the mandate of charity, the mercy of God overlooks the order of their thoughts and industry, and itself advances their task which they considered so greatly retarded.

Two months or thereabout, then, after the arrival of these poor strangers, the number of their sick beginning to diminish, our laborers had more time and leisure to visit the fields that they had sown in the past. And lo! they immediately perceived, contrary to all their expectations, the greater part of it all ready for harvest, finding the minds of many of those whom they had cultivated in the past fully satisfied with and convinced of the truths of the Faith, and desiring nothing else than to be baptized as soon as possible.

[42] Their fervor went so far that we found ourselves obliged to deliberate whether we should put them off until the times that the Church seems to appoint for the Baptism of Catechumens, namely, Easter and Pentecost; but both were too far away. Upon careful consideration, it was decided to open the door, in this beginning, to all those who should present themselves, according as they were found to be qualified therefor; since it was a question of a new Church, which it was necessary to think of bringing into existence before applying ourselves to give it perfection. But nevertheless it was necessary to proceed with much reserve in this matter, and always to remember that we had to do with Savages, for whose dissimulation and fickleness there would seem to be no comparison.

C'est ce qui nous fit conclure, de n'en recevoir au commencement, que fort peu, & des Anciens & plus considerables des Chefs de familles, & personnes mariées avec stabilité. Crainte que si nous en admettions d'autres, sans une plus grande experience, les fondemens venans à crouler, nous ne viissions bientôt tout l'edifice [43] à bas, & la ruine totale auparavant son establissement, & le sepulture de ceste nouvelle Eglise dans son berceau.

Ayant donc l'œil à toutes ces circonstances, & sur ce que la diuine Prouidence nous presentoit, on donna iour à la feste de S. Martin à trois chefs de famille des plus anciens, & plus considerables du Bourg. Donc l'un fut baptisé avec sa femme, & trois de ses enfants. Des deux autres l'un estoit veuf & sans enfants qui fussent petits; l'autre ne iugea pas que sa femme fust encore capable de ce bien, comme en effect elle ne l'estoit pas.

Enuiron un mois apres, sçauoir à la Feste de la Conception de la sainte Vierge, se firent les seconds baptêmes de seize personnes: entre lesquels estoient trois ou quatre chefs de familles, avec leurs femmes & enfans; ce qui joint avec les precedens, en la famille de Ioseph Chihxatenhxa, celui dont a esté parlé amplement en la derniere relation, faisant une compagnie d'une trentaine de personnes, qui assisterent ensemble ce iour là à la sainte Messe pour la premiere fois, où se communierent tous ceux qui estoient en aage de le faire; il semble que nous auons tout [44] subiect de recognoistre, & de remarquer ce saint iour, destiné à la memoire & à l'honneur de la premiere grandeur de ceste sainte Vierge; pour celui de la Naissance de ceste nouvelle Eglise, & du com-

This made us conclude to receive at first only a very few,—some Old Men, and the more prominent Heads of families, and persons whose marriages were stable,—fearing that, if we admitted others without more experience, the foundations would begin to crumble, and we would soon see the whole edifice [43] prostrated, its total ruin before its establishment, and the grave of this new Church in its cradle.

Having in view, then, all these circumstances, and what divine Providence offered us, we devoted a day, on the feast of St. Martin, to three heads of families, among the oldest and most prominent of the Village. One was baptized, then, with his wife and three of his children. Of the two others, the one was a widower and without small children, the other did not think his wife was yet capable of receiving this blessing, as, in fact, she was not.

About a month later, namely, on the Feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin, occurred the second group of baptisms, of sixteen persons, among whom were three or four heads of families, with their wives and children,—who, added to the previous baptisms in the family of Joseph Chihwatenhwa, of whom we spoke fully in the last relation, make a company of thirty persons, who together attended the holy Mass that day for the first time, where all those who were of an age to do so received communion. It seems that we have every [44] reason to acknowledge and to observe this holy day, devoted to the memory and to the honor of the first dignity of this holy Virgin, as that of the Birth of this new Church, and of the beginning of happiness and blessing for this country.

We are certainly right in believing that she to



mencement du bon-heur & de la benediction du païs.

Nous auons bien raïson de croire, que celle en l'honneur de laquelle est confacrée ceste Feste, a mis la main à cet ouurage, & l'a conduit depuis, au point que nous dirons cy-apres, & que nous voyons de nos yeux, avec vne consolation, qui ne se peut expliquer.

Il y eut trois ans à ce mesme iour, que le vœu fut fait par nos Peres, pour obtenir la faueur de ceste grand Princeſſe, en l'establissement du Chriſtianisme en ces contrées de ieufner la veille de ceste Feste, & de dire tous les mois vne Meſſe, en l'honneur de ceste ſienne premiere grandeur: & en outre que la premiere Chappelle que nous baſtirions dans le païs, feroit en ſon honneur, & ſous le titre de ſa ſaincte Conception. Ceste Chapelle a eſté celle dans laquelle ſe ſont faits ces premiers Bapteſmes, dans laquelle nous auons veu l'effect [45] que nous pretendions, deuant que d'eſtre parfaitement deſchargez de l'obligation de ce que nous auons promis, puis que la Chappelle n'eſtoit encore acheuée iuſqu'au point, qu'on y peuſt dire la Meſſe avec bien ſeance, & ne ſembloit eſtre capable que d'y faire les Bapteſmes, qui en effect y furent faits.

Que loüange donc & action de graces ſoient à iamais renduës à ceste grande Reyne du Ciel, & de la terre, par tous ceux qui ont & auront cy-apres intereſt à cét ouurage, & quant aux perſonnes qui ont vne pieuſe & ſaincte affection pour cette entrepriſe, elle nous obligeront grandement de nous ayder à remercier ceste ſaincte Vierge de tant de graces que nous auons receu, & receuons continuellement de ſa faueur & aſſiſtance, laquelle nous fait eſperer que ſon ſacrè Fils noſtre tres-honoré Seigneur & Maïſtre, qui ſeuil pouuoir mettre le fondement de cét edifice, aura agre-

whose honor this Feast is consecrated has put her hand to this work, and has since conducted it to the point that we shall mention hereafter, and which we see with our own eyes, with a consolation which cannot be expressed.

It was three years before, on this same day, that our Fathers had made the vow, in order to obtain the favor of this great Princess in the establishment of Christianity in these countries, to fast on the eve of this Feast, and to say a Mass every month in honor of this her first dignity; and also, that the first Chapel we should build in the country should be in her honor, and under the title of her holy Conception. This Chapel is the one in which these first Baptisms took place; in this we saw the result [45] that we desired, even before we were entirely released from the obligations of our vow—since the Chapel was not yet finished so far that we could conveniently say Mass therein, and seemed fit only for the Baptisms, which were, in fact, administered there.

Let, then, praise and thanksgivings be forever rendered to this great Queen of Heaven and of earth, by all those who have and shall hereafter have an interest in this work; and as for persons who have a pious and holy affection for this enterprise, they will oblige us greatly by helping us thank this blessed Virgin for the many gifts we have received and are continually receiving through her favor and assistance, which makes us hope that her divine Son, our most honored Lord and Master, who alone can lay the foundation of this edifice, will be pleased to continue his blessing upon it and to bring it to the summit and height of its perfection.

Since that day we have continued at intervals to

able d'y continuer sa benediction, & le conduire iufques au comble & au point de sa perfection.

Depuis ce iour on a continué par intervalles de baptifer ceux & celles qui se font prefentez, qu'on a iugé capables de ce bon-heur, [46] en forte que le nombre des fideles faifant profession du Christianisme, monte presentement ce Bourg à pres de 60. dont plusieurs sont Senroronons, du nombre de ces pauvres Estrangers refugiez en ce païs, comme nous auons dit au commencement de ce Chapitre; la diuine Prouidence les ayant attendu pour donner commencement à cette nouuelle Eglise, comme predestinez de toute Eternité, pour en estre vne partie des pierres fondamentales. Dans ce nombre se sont trouuez encore quelque autres Estrangers de diuerfes Nations qui depuis se sont retirez en leur païs, qui tost ou tard pourront bien seruir à quelque dessein de Prouidence, Bonté & Misericorde de Dieu.

Le dy pres de 60. Fideles, faifants profession du Christianisme; car de baptisez en extremité de maladie, il y en a beaucoup d'autres dans le Bourg, mais qui ayans recouré la fanté, n'ont fait aucun estat du bien qu'ils auoient receu, auquel toutesfois il est croyable, au moins pour quelques-vns, qu'ils luy sont encore obligez de la vie, temporelle.

Il faut aduoüer que le trauail d'un enfantement spirituel, est grand pour le regard [47] de ces peuples Barbares & sauages au dernier point; mais aussi est-il veritable que la consolation est grande de voir ces pauvres creatures reduites à la reconnoissance, respect, & obeïssance à leur Createur & Redempteur, & se ranger aux deuoirs de veritables Chrestiens.

Seroit-il possible de retenir les larmes de ioye, voyant un Dimanche matin, arriuer chez nous, pour

baptize men and women who have presented themselves, who have been deemed qualified for this blessing, [46] so that the number of the faithful who make profession of Christianity in this Village now amounts to nearly 60, of whom many are Wenrorons from among those poor Strangers taking refuge in this country, whom we mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter,—divine Providence having waited for them to furnish the nucleus for this new Church, as if they were predestined, from all Eternity, to be a part of the foundation stones. In this number are also some other Strangers of different Nations who have since retired to their own country, who, sooner or later, may be very useful in carrying out some design of the Providence, Goodness, and Mercy of God.

I said, “nearly 60 of the Faithful making a profession of Christianity;” for of those baptized in the extremity of their sickness there are many others in the Village, who, nevertheless, having recovered their health, have attached no value to the blessing they had received,—to which, for all that, it may be believed, at least in the case of some, that they are indebted also for temporal life.

It must be confessed that the travail of a spiritual birth is painful, in the case [47] of these peoples, Barbarous and savage to the last degree. But it is also true that there is great consolation in seeing these poor creatures brought to recognize, to respect, and to obey their Creator and Redeemer, and to assume the duties of real Christians.

Hardly could one repress the tears of joy, who should see, on a Sunday morning, these poor people arrive at our house to hear Mass, having departed

entendre la Meffe, ces pauvres gens partis de leurs cabanes à point nommé, & quelque temps qu'il fasse trauffer vn espace notable qu'il y a de leur Bourg à nostre demeure, nuds pour la plupart, comme la main, excepté vne simple peau qu'ils ont sur le dos en forme de mante; & dans la rigueur de l'hyuer quelques peaux à l'entour de leurs pieds, & de leurs iambes,

Mais sur tout quand on les voit se mettre à genoux, ce qui leur est vne posture du tout estrange & extraordinaire, faire leurs prieres à haute voix, en la presence du saint Sacrement, & se communier pelse-messe avec nos François. Il faut confesser que le contentement est tel, que le centuple la dedans, nous est richement payé, & au delà, & que nous n'aurons iamais fuiet [48] d'estre en peine de voir en ce point accomplies les promesses de l'Evangile.

On a soin l'hyuer de tenir en plusieurs endroits de la Chappelle des foyers pleins de braise, pour remedier aux inconueniens qui s'en pourroient ensuiure du froid, & de leur nudité. Cela les satisfait de la sorte, que quelques-vns demeurent souuent de leur plein gré les heures entieres apres le seruice, à s'entretenir de nos mysteres, & à se faire instruire tousiours de plus en plus.

La premiere occasion qui se presenta apres leurs baptêmes, de faire paroistre leur deuotion, fut à la nuit de Noël, laquelle plusieurs passerent partie dans nostre cabane, partie dans la Chappelle nouvelle, qui se trouua en estat de seruir à ceste solemnité. On disposa les choses avec le plus d'ornement, & d'esclat qui fut possible, pour leur faire apprehender le merite de ce iour. Et la chose réussit de la sorte, que ces pauvres gens ont souuent depuis demandé, quand est-



from their cabins at the appointed time, and sometimes when they had to traverse a considerable distance which lies between their Village and our dwelling,—naked, for the most part, as the hand, except a single skin that they wear upon their backs in the form of a mantle, and in the rigor of winter some skins around their feet and legs.

But above all [would one rejoice] to see them get upon their knees, which to them is a posture altogether strange and extraordinary, and offer their prayers aloud in the presence of the blessed Sacrament, and receive communion promiscuously with our French people. It must be confessed that the satisfaction is such that by it we are inwardly repaid a hundredfold, and more, and that we shall never have reason [48] for difficulty in seeing the promises of the Gospel fulfilled in this respect.

In winter, we are careful to have fireplaces full of burning coals in several parts of the Chapel, to provide against the discomforts that might arise from the cold and their nakedness. This so pleases them that some often remain, of their own free will, whole hours after the service, to converse about our mysteries, and to become better and better instructed.

The first occasion that presented itself after their baptisms to show their devotion was on Christmas night, part of which several spent in our cabin, others in the new Chapel, which proved to be in condition for use at this solemnity. Things were arranged with as much decoration and splendor as possible, to make them realize the importance of this day; and the affair succeeded so well that these poor people have often asked since then when that night would return,—or rather this kind of a beautiful day; for,

ce que cette nuit reuiendrait, ou plustost cette forte de beau iour : car ces peuples n'ayans aucun vſage de chandelles, voyant quantité de lumieres qui brilloient & esclattoient [49] dans ceste Chapelle, auoient quelque fujer de doute s'il faisoit iour ou nuit.

Nostre Chrestien, ainsi appellons nous Ioseph Chisatenh8a, tant par ce qu'il a esté le premier en ce Bourg, & feul neuf ou dix mois avec sa famille, faisant profession du Christianisme, nonobstant tous les discours & les persecutions de langue de ses Compatriotes ; que par ce qu'il est incomparablement eminent par dessus tous les autres, en connoissance & pieuse affection à nos mysteres, & à l'esprit du Christianisme. Ce braue Chrestien dis-ie ne manqua pas en ceste occasion de prendre souuent la parole, & y faire fonction de fraire aîné, en instruisant & enseignant ses cadets avec vn aduantage & fucez tout particulier, pour auoir tout ensemble l'esprit, la parole, la probité, la reputation, la cognoissance de nos mysteres, & l'affection en vn eminent degré ; de forte que nous commençons à le regarder plustost comme vn Apostre, que comme vn Barbare de ces contrées. Ah, disoit-il, mes Freres, que veulent dire ces lumieres brillantes & eclatantes au milieu de la nuit, sinon que celuy dont nous honorons maintenant la memoire, a par sa naissance [50] dissipé les tenebres & l'ignorance du monde ; ce qu'ayant fait pour la premiere fois depuis tant de siecles, il nous va aujourd'huy pour la premiere fois en ces contrées, faisant la mesme grace & misericorde. Ce sont des desseins & des iugemens qu'il ne faut qu'adorer, pourquoy c'est qu'il ne l'a pas fait plustost, mais c'est vne grace & vne faueur pour nous, qui ne se peut priser, ny recognoistre suffisamment, que sa proui-

as these people are not in the habit of using candles, seeing many lights shining and sparkling [49] in this Chapel, they had some reason to question whether it were day or night.

Our Christian,—it is thus we call Joseph Chiwatenhwa, both because he was the first one in this Village, and for nine or ten months the only one who, with his family, made a profession of Christianity, notwithstanding all the speeches and the verbal persecutions of his Countrymen; and because he is incomparably superior to all the others in knowledge of and pious affection to our mysteries and to the spirit of Christianity,—this brave Christian, I say, did not fail on this occasion often to address the people, and to perform the duty of an elder brother by instructing and teaching his juniors with most special benefit and success, because he had at once intelligence, eloquence, integrity, reputation, the knowledge of our mysteries, and the affection for them, in an eminent degree; so we are beginning to regard him as an Apostle rather than a Barbarian of these countries. “Ah, my Brothers,” said he, “what do these lights shining and sparkling in the midst of the night mean, if not that he whose memory we are now honoring has through his birth [50] dissipated the shadows and the ignorance of the world; having done this the first time so many centuries ago, he is about to grant us to-day, for the first time in these countries, the same grace and mercy. There are purposes and reasons, which can only be adored, for which he has not done this sooner; but it is a grace and a favor toward us, which cannot be sufficiently estimated or acknowledged, that his providence has arranged this blessing for our country while we are still living.”

dence ait menagé ce bien à nostre païs, pendant que nous fommes encore en vie.

De tels & semblables discours entretint ce bon Chrestien vne bonne partie de la nuit, le petit troupeau de ceste Eglise naissante, laquelle il n'edifia pas moins de ses exemples que de sa parole. Car entre autres ne se contenant pas d'une Messe, il en entendit cinq tout de suite, la plus part à genoux: Ce qui pour un Barbare, qui n'a iamais sçeu que c'estoit de ceste contenance, pourroit bien passer pour un petit martyre. D'autres à son imitation n'en entendirent guiere moins, & tous se confesserent, communierent, & donnerent en ceste occasion tant de contentement & de fatisfaction, qu'on n'en pouvoit [51] plus souhaiter davantage.

Je puis dire le mesme à proportion de toutes les grandes Fêtes & Dimanches, qui depuis ont fuiuy, auxquels on garde tout ce qui se peut des ceremonies de l'Eglise; entr'autres celle du pain benit, que ces bons Neophytes font chacun à son tour, avec beaucoup de deuotion, particulièrement quelques-uns.

Ce n'est pas que pour conduire le tout de la sorte, il n'y faille apporter beaucoup de peine & de soin, & autant pour le moins qu'à esleuer des enfans malades, mais le contentement d'avoir en fin mis ces enfans au mode, ou plustost dans la grace du Christianisme, & le desir & esperance de les voir deuenir hommes dans l'Eglise de Dieu, fait qu'on ne sent presque point son mal, & qu'on est tout disposé à en souffrir beaucoup davantage.

Ceste grace de Dieu sur ces peuples, n'est concevable qu'à ceux qui sçauent iusques à quel point ces pauvres Barbares font terrestres, & d'eux-mêmes esloignez, & incapables de concevoir & estimer les

With this and similar discourses this good Christian entertained for a great part of the night, the little flock of this rising Church, whom he edified no less by his examples than by his words. For, among other things, not contenting himself with one Mass, he heard five in succession,—during most of them, on his knees; this, for a Barbarian, who has never known what that posture is, might well pass for a petty martyrdom. Others, imitating him, heard almost as many Masses, and all confessed and received communion, and on this occasion gave so much comfort and satisfaction, that one could not [51] wish for more besides.

I can say the same, relatively, of all the great Feasts and Sundays which have followed that time, on which occasions we observe as many as possible of the ceremonies of the Church,—among others, that of the consecrated bread, of which these good Neophytes partake, each in his turn, with great devotion, some in especial.

Not that, in order to direct all in this way, a great deal of trouble and care must not be taken,—as much, at least, as to raise sickly children; but the satisfaction of having finally brought these children into the world, or rather into the grace of Christianity, and the desire and hope of seeing them become men in the Church of God, renders one almost insensible to his pains, and makes him quite ready to suffer a great many more.

This grace of God upon these peoples is not conceivable except to those who know to what extent these Barbarians are of the earth, and of themselves disinclined and incompetent to understand or consider the things of the spirit and of Eternity. But

choses de l'esprit & de l'Eternité, mais celuy à qui rien n'est impossible, & qui n'est pas moins puissant en vn temps qu'en vn [52] autre, semble en fin agréer, de susciter de ces pierres & rochers des vrais enfans d'Abraham, & de l'Eglise.

Ce qui apres l'assistance du Ciel semble auoir le plus contribué à l'aduancement de cet ouurage, font; Premièrement, la patience & le courage des Peres qui ont esté icy par cy-deuant, qui ne se sont pas rebutez ny lassés dans l'attente des temps & des moments de la diuine Prouidence: & qui nonobstant toutes les persecutions & dangers de massacre, dont ils se sont veus à la veille souuent, & particulièrement l'année precedente, n'ont rien relâché de leurs soins & charitez à visiter & assister les malades, voire mesme dans les cabanes de ceux qui sembloient leur vouloir le plus de mal.

Et il semble en effet que Dieu ait voulu témoigner que c'estoit là le grain, qui auoit produit ce fruit, disposant les choses de la sorte, qu'au mesme mois d'Octobre, auquel l'année d' auparauant on auoit conclu leur mort, ça [*sc. c'a*] esté en ce mesme mois l'année d'apres, que pensans estre encore bien esloignez de la recolte, ils ont aperceu les fruits tous meurs & prests à cueillir.

[53] En second lieu, l'exemple de nos François seculiers ou domestiques, n'y a pas de peu seruy. Nous n'experimentons que trop la force de cet article, soit pour le bien, soit pour le mal. Et ie ne doute point que l'affaire ne se fust plustost aduancée, si tous les François qui ont monté en ce pais iusques icy, eussent esté d'une vie irreprochable. Au moins est-il asseuré que les Barbares ne nous eussent pas si souuent arresté, leur proposant les Commandements

he to whom nothing is impossible, and who is not less powerful at one time than at [52] another, seems finally pleased to raise up from these stones and rocks true children of Abraham and of the Church.

The things which seem, after the aid of Heaven, to have contributed most to the advancement of this work, are: First, the patience and the courage of the Fathers who were here before, who were not rebuffed or wearied in waiting for the times and moments of divine Providence, and who,—notwithstanding all the persecutions and dangers of massacre, on the verge of which they often found themselves, and particularly last year,—in no wise relaxed their attentions and kindnesses in visiting and assisting the sick, yea, even in the cabins of those who seemed to have the most ill-will towards them.

And indeed it seems that God wished to show that that was the seed which produced this fruit,—so arranging matters that in the very month of October in which, the year before, their death had been decreed, in this same month the next year, when they thought themselves to be still very far from the harvest, they perceived the fruit quite ripe and ready to be gathered.

[53] In the second place, the example of our secular French, or domestics, has been of no little service. We experience only too strongly the force of this element, either for good or for evil; and I do not doubt that the cause might have been sooner advanced if all the French who have come up to this country had been of irreproachable lives. At least it is certain that the Barbarians would not so often have stopped us when we were proposing to them the Commandments of God, and brought forward, in the

de Dieu, & representé le contraire de ce que nous enseignons dans les actions & les œuvres de quelques personnes. Mais Dieu disposant les affaires au point que nous les voyons, semble avoir inspiré à Messieurs de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France de si bonnes pensées & résolutions là dessus, & Monsieur le Chevalier de Montmagny nostre Gouverneur y apporte un si bon ordre, que nous espérons que cette pierre d'achoppement ne se trouvera plus en nostre chemin. Et en effet ceux qui sont icy de present, non seulement mènent une vie irréprochable, mais en outre vivent & se comportent de la sorte, que nous avons tout sujet de croire que Dieu en leur considération, [54] a donné une particulière bénédiction à cet ouvrage, auquel ils s'estudient selon leur pouvoir & industrie, de prendre une bonne part.

Je mets au rang des causes de l'avancement de ce même ouvrage, les discours & comportements de Joseph Chihsatenhša, ce bon Neophyte, duquel nous avons déjà plusieurs fois parlé, qui semble avoir été ce leuain de l'Evangile, qui a fait lever toute la masse de cette nouvelle Eglise des Hurons, non seulement en ce bourg, mais encore par tout ailleurs où nous avons travaillé à faire des Chrétiens, soit en celui de Teanauitayé où nous avons une Residence, soit aux Missions; s'étant trouvé par tout aux meilleures occasions, pour faire profession publique, & rendre cōpte de sa foy & de sa conversion. En quoy il s'est comporté par tout avec une satisfaction pleine & entière de ses compatriotes, qui ne se lassent jamais de l'entendre. Vous vous rebutez, mes Freres, (leur dit-il quelquefois) sur ce que les affaires de vostre salut que vous proposent les François, sont choses nouvelles, & leurs propres coutumes qui renuer-



actions and deeds of certain persons, the opposite of what we were teaching. But God, in bringing affairs to the condition in which we see them, seems to have inspired the Gentlemen of the Company of New France with so good ideas and resolutions thereupon, and Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, our Governor, has brought about so good order, that we hope this stumbling-block will no longer be found in our way. And, in fact, those who are here at present not only lead irreproachable lives, but besides live and behave in such a way that we have every reason to believe that God upon their account [54] has given a special blessing to this work, in which they strive, according to their power and skill, to take a worthy part.

I place among the causes for the advancement of this same work the speeches and behavior of Joseph Chihwatenhwa, the good Neophyte of whom we have already spoken several times, who seems to have been the leaven of the Gospel that has made the whole lump of this new Church of the Hurons rise,—not only in this village, but also everywhere else where we have striven to make Christians, either in the town of Teanaustayé where we have a Residence, or in the Missions,—he having been everywhere present on the most suitable occasions, to make a public profession and to render an account of his faith and his conversion. In this he conducted himself everywhere to the full and entire satisfaction of his compatriots, who were never tired of hearing him. “You are disheartened, my Brothers” (he sometimes said to them), “because the matters of your salvation that the French propose to you are new things, and customs of their own which overthrow ours. You tell

fent les nostres. Vous leur dites, que chaque païs [55] a ses façons de faire: que comme vous ne les pressez pas de prendre les nostres, aussi vous estonnez-vous de ce qu'ils nous pressent de prendre en cela les leur, & de recognoître avec eux le même Createur du Ciel & de la Terre, & le Seigneur vniuersel de toutes choses. Je vous demande, quand au commencement vous veistes de leurs haches & chaudières, après auoir reconnu qu'elles estoient incomparablement meilleures & plus commodes que nos haches de pierre, & que nos vaisseaux, de bois & de terre, auez vous pour cela reietté leurs haches & chaudières, parce que c'estoit chose nouuelle à vostre païs, & la coustume de France de s'en feruir, & non pas la vostre. Que s'ils nous pressent de croire ce qu'ils croyoient, & de viure conformément à ceste creance, nous leur en auons beaucoup d'obligation: car en effet si ce qu'ils disent est vray, comme il est, nous sommes les plus misérables gens du monde, si nous ne faisons ce qu'ils nous disent.

Je n'aurois iamais fait, si ie me voulois estendre plus au long sur tous les discours, ou plustost sur toutes les faillies de l'esprit de Dieu, qui semble parler souuent par la [56] bouche de ce bon Neophyte. Je dis faillies de l'esprit de Dieu, car nous ne sçauons que penser autre chose, le voyant quelquefois se mettre à benir Dieu, & le louer tout en la même façon & maniere, que firent autrefois les enfans dâs la fournaise, sans que iamais il ait eu cognoissance de ce que la sainte Esriture nous en apprend.

Je ne me trouuerois pas moins empesché, si i'auois entrepris de declarer tous les actes de vertu remarquables, & tous les bons exemples qu'il a continué de faire paroître depuis le temps de la dernière Rela-

them that every country [55] has its own ways of doing things; that, as you do not urge them to adopt ours, so you are surprised at their urging us to adopt theirs in this matter, and to acknowledge with them the same Creator of Heaven and of Earth, and the universal Lord of all things. I ask you, when at first you saw their hatchets and kettles, after having discovered that they were incomparably better and more convenient than our stone hatchets and our wooden and earthen vessels,<sup>2</sup> did you reject their hatchets and kettles, because they were new things in your country, and because it was the custom of France to use them and not yours? Now if they urge us to believe what they believe, and to live conformably to this belief, we are under great obligations to them; for indeed, if what they say is true, as it is, we are the most miserable people in the world if we do not do as they tell us."

I would never finish if I were to dwell at length upon all the discourses, or rather upon all the flashes of the spirit of God, which often seems to speak through the [56] mouth of this good Neophyte. I say "flashes of the spirit of God," for we cannot think of anything else when we see him sometimes beginning to bless God and to praise him in the same fashion and manner as did in olden time the children in the furnace, without his ever having learned what the holy Scriptures teach us thereof.

I would not find myself less embarrassed if I had undertaken to declare all the acts of remarkable virtue and all the good examples he has continued to manifest since the time of the last Relation, whether in health or in sickness, in prosperity or in adversity.

When it was a question of going after those poor

tion, soit en fanté, soit en maladie, soit dans la prosperité, soit dans l'aduersité.

Quand il fut question d'aller querir ces pauvres estrangers dont nous auons parlé cy-dessus, il ne se contenta pas d'aller à my chemin comme plusieurs autres; mais il fit le voyage entier, & prist tant de peine & de foin à les assister, par des motifs verita[b]lement Chrestiens, qu'estant icy de retour, il en tomba malade d'une fièvre qui luy dura 40 iours, pendant lesquels on le tint par plusieurs fois pour desesperé. Il pleût toutefois à Dieu donner benediction aux remedes & aux charitez [57] dont nous l'affistâmes, en forte qu'au bout des 40 iours il se trouua entierement hors de danger. Au plus fort de son mal, estant surpris de refuerie, ses discours & extrauagance n'estoient que des choses de Dieu & de la Foy: il se leuoit quelquesfois tout nud, & se tenant aupres du feu: Qu'ils viennent, qu'ils viennent, disoit-il, qu'ils me brulent, & qu'ils voyent si c'est tout de bon que ie croy, où si c'est seulement du bout des levres.

Depuis ce temps, ceste bonne Ame nous a semblé de plus en plus se remplir du S. Esprit, & entrer dans le sentier des Saints, dont il a donné plusieurs autres preuues, tant aux attaques contre la chasteté, & la Religion, qu'aux exercices de charité & de misericorde.

Ie ne sçay à quoy ie dois attribuer, ce qui luy arriva l'Esté pafsé, lors qu'estant à la pesche, il pleut par tout le païs, & spécialement tout à l'entour du lieu où il estoit, ce qui causa vn grand degast de poisson, & cependant il ne plût iamais à l'endroit où il se trouua avec ceux de sa cōpagnie, & fit sa pesche fort

strangers whom we have mentioned above, he was not satisfied to go halfway, like many others; but he made the entire journey, and took so much pains and care to assist them, through truly Christian motives, that after he returned hither he fell sick of a fever that lasted 40 days, during which he was several times considered a hopeless case. It pleased God, however, to grant a blessing to the remedies and charities [57] with which we assisted him, so that at the end of 40 days he proved to be entirely out of danger. At the height of his illness, being overtaken with delirium, his utterances and ravings were only about the things of God and of the Faith. He sometimes arose, entirely naked, and, keeping near the fire, "Let them come, let them come," said he; "let them burn me, and let them see if it is in good earnest that I believe, or if it is only with my lips."

Since that time, this good Soul has seemed to us to be more and more filled with the Holy Ghost, and to have entered the path of the Saints, of which he has given many other proofs, not only in attacks against his chastity and Religion, but in his exercises of charity and mercy.

I do not know to what I should attribute what happened to him last Summer,—when, being engaged in fishing, it rained throughout the country, and especially all around the place where he was, which caused great havoc among the fish; and yet it never rained in the locality where he was with his company, and his fishing was very successful. One thing is certain—he never omitted in all that time to pray, [58] and to have all those who were with him pray, to God morning and evening; besides this, he with-

heureusement. Vne chose est affeurée, qu'il n'obmit iamais en tout ce temps de prier, [58] & faire prier Dieu matin & soir tous ceux qui estoient avec luy: Outre que tous les iours il se retiroit seul dans le bois, pour vacquer avec moins de diuertissement, & plus long-temps à l'oraïson.

En fin, il me semble que ce soit ce bon grain de l'Evangile, & du meilleur, qui rend non seulement 60. mais 100. puis qu'à la S. Ioseph de l'an pafsé, n'y ayât que luy en la famille de baptisez, faïfants profession du Christianisme; vn an apres au mesme iour, il y en auoit près de cent dans le païs, faïfants la mesme profession, à la conuersion desquels il n'auoit pas peu contribué.

Je ne m'estendray point dauantage en ce Chapitre, ny aux suiuañts, sur plusieurs autres particularitez des affaires qui se sont passées, nommément sur les Baptêmes, tant des enfans que des adultes malades; tant pour éuiter la longueur, que pour ne donner de l'ennuy à ceux qui pourront ietter les yeux sur ce Narré. Car quoy qu'en plusieurs il y ait beaucoup de choses considerables, & qui sont ouurages excellens de la bonté, iustice & Prouidence de Dieu sur ces Creatures, il en est toutefois de ces affaires, comme des ouurages de [59] peinture ou de sculpture, desquels si les traits sont subtils & delicats, ils ne se peuvent voir de loin avec contentement, pour excellēs qu'ils puissent estre, & demandent des personnes qui ne soiēt point esloignées pour les voir de près, & en conceuoir le merite. Ces cas donc seront referuez à l'entretien des sainctes Ames au seiour bienheureux de l'Eternité. Qui cependant nous ayderont encore, s'il leur plaist, à remercier la diuine Maïesté, aussi

drew alone into the woods, every day, that he might, with less interruption and for a longer time, devote himself to prayer.

Finally, it seems to me that it is this good Gospel seed, the very best, which yields not only 60 but 100-fold; since on St. Joseph's day of last year we had only him with his family, of those baptized, who made a profession of Christianity; one year afterwards, on the same day, there were nearly a hundred in the country making the same profession, to whose conversion he had contributed not a little.

I shall not dwell further in this Chapter, nor in the following ones, upon many other details of the events which have taken place,—especially upon the Baptisms of children and of sick adults,—both to avoid prolixity, and not to weary those who may cast their eyes over this Narrative. For although in several there are many important features, which are notable achievements of the goodness, justice, and Providence of God toward his Creatures, yet some of these things are like works of [59] painting or of sculpture, which, if the lines are subtle and delicate, cannot be seen satisfactorily from a distance, however excellent they may be, and require persons who are not far away, that they may see them close at hand and judge their merits. These cases, then, will be reserved for the entertainment of the saintly Souls in the blessed sojourn of Eternity,—who, meanwhile, will still aid us, if they please, in thanking the divine Majesty for special and hidden favors, as well as for manifest and general ones.

I would be wholly wrong if I were to close this Chapter before enumerating another cause for the

bien des faueurs particulieres & occultes, que des esclatantes & generales.

I'aurois tous les torts du monde si ie fermois ce Chapitre, deuant que d'adiouster vne autre cause de l'aduancement de cét ouurage. Ce sont les sainctes prieres & deuotions de tant de bonnes Ames qui font en France, & qui prennent vne si grande part, & vn si grand interest à toutes ces affaires.

Ie me suis quelquefois estonné de l'ordre que tenoit autrefois ce grand Apostre des Indes S. François Xauier, inuitant & coniurant la diuine Maiesté de l'affister à l'entreprise de la conuersion des infidelles des contrées où il estoit, en vne sienne Oraïson qu'il disoit tous les iours à ce fuiet, [60] & qui se trouue dans sa vie, il y met en premier lieu les prieres des sainctes Ames, comme les plus puissants moyens qu'il eust de flechir Dieu, & le porter à faire misericorde à ces pauures Errans.

Mais l'experience me fait fortir de l'estonnement, car considerant dans la recolte de ceste année, ce qu'il plaist à Dieu nous faire esperer à l'aduenir de nos trauaux en ces contrées, & cependant le peu de proportion de nos forces avec tels ouurages, ie me sens forcé de recognoistre que comme dans le Ciel, qui roule dessus nos testes, il y a des Estoilles & des constellations si puissantes, que la premiere & principale vertu productiue de certaines richesses de la terre leur est attribuée; ce qui se fait ordinairement par les Philosophes, lors qu'ils ne rencontrent icy bas aucune cause proportionnée à l'effect: Que pareillement dans le Ciel de l'Eglise, il y a des Estoilles & des constellations mystiques si puissantes à influer sur les affaires que nous auons entre les mains, que la premiere &



advancement of this work,—the holy prayers and devotions of so many good Souls in France, who take so great a share and so much interest in all these affairs.

I am sometimes astonished at the order formerly observed by that great Apostle of the Indies, St. François Xavier,—when he was engaging and entreating the divine Majesty to assist him in the enterprise of converting the unbelievers of the countries where he was,—in one of his Prayers which he said every day with this object, [60] and which is found in the narrative of his life; in this he gives the first place to the prayers of saintly Souls, as the most powerful means he had of influencing God and causing him to show mercy to those poor Wanderers.

But experience causes me to recover from this astonishment. For considering, in the harvest of this year, what it pleases God to make us hope for the future of our labors in these countries, and yet the small ratio of our forces to such labors, I feel myself compelled to acknowledge that, as in the Sky which turns above our heads there are some Stars and constellations so powerful that the first and principal virtue productive of certain riches of the soil is attributed to them,—this being done usually by Philosophers, when they cannot find here below any cause proportionate to the effect,—so, likewise, in the Sky of the Church there are some mystical Stars and constellations so powerful to influence the affairs that we have in hand, that the first and principal virtue productive of the good that we can do here should be attributed to them, since, in fact, we do not see down here any other causes proportionate [61] to these effects.

principale vertu productiue des biens que nous pouuons faire icy, leur doit estre attribuée, puis qu'en effect nous n'y voyons point icy bas d'autres caufes proportionnées [61] à ces effects.

Je pretens par cecy en faire vne reconnoiffance, & vn remerciement general, duquel chaque faincte Ame & communauté prendra s'il luy plaist la part qu'elle y pretend, & qui luy est deuë, si elle n'ayme mieux quittant fes droits, attendre de Dieu fa recompense.

I intend by this to offer a general acknowledgment and expression of thanks, of which each saintly Soul and community will take, if it please, the share that it claims, and that is its due, unless it prefer to give up its rights to wait for its reward from God.

## CHAPITRE V.

DE LA RESIDENCE DE S. IOSEPH AU BOURG DE TEA-  
NAUSTAY[AÉ]; DE CE QUI S'Y EST PASSÉ DE PLUS  
REMARQUABLE, & PRINCIPALEMENT DE LA  
NAISSANCE & ESTABLISSEMENT DE LA  
NOUUELLE EGLISE DE  
CE BOURG.

**L**A resolution estant prise de quitter la demeure d'Ihonatiria, à faute d'habitans, la plupart ayant esté emportez ou dissipéz par la maladie, comme a esté dit cy-dessus, & plus amplement encore en la precedente Relation: on ne fut pas long-temps à aduifer de quel costé il feroit à propos de tirer. Le bourg de Teanaustayaé estant le plus considerable de tout le [62] païs, & qui par consequent estant vne fois gagné à Dieu, donneroit vn grand branle à la conuersion de tout le reste.

Mais quelle apparence d'entamer ceste affaire, & moins encore d'en venir à bout; ce bourg ayant esté vn peu auparauant vne des principales boutiques, où s'estoient forgées des calomnies<sup>3</sup> les plus noires, & les desseins les plus pernicioeux contre nous. Iusques-là que les Capitaines auoient publiquement exhorté la ieunesse à nous venir massacrer à ce bourg-icy où nous estiõs d'Offofane. Toutefois celui à qui rien n'est impossible, a donné plus de facilité à l'vn & à l'autre que nous n'eussions iamais osé esperer.

Appuyé donc sur Dieu seul,<sup>4</sup> le P. Iean de Brebeuf

## CHAPTER V.

OF THE RESIDENCE OF ST. JOSEPH AT THE VILLAGE OF TEANAUSTAY[AÉ]; OF THE MORE REMARKABLE EVENTS THAT HAVE OCCURRED THERE, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE BIRTH AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW CHURCH OF THAT VILLAGE.

HAVING resolved to abandon the dwelling at Ihonatiria, on account of its lack of inhabitants,—the majority of them having been carried off or scattered by the disease, as has been related above, and still more fully in the preceding Relation,—we were not long in deciding to what place it would be wise to go, the village of Teanaustayaé<sup>3</sup> being the most important in the whole [62] country, and one which, consequently, being once won to God, would give a strong impulse to the conversion of all the rest.

But what a prospect for commencing this undertaking, to say nothing of success therein! For that village had been, a little while before, one of the principal shops in which were forged the blackest calumnies and most pernicious plots against us,—to such an extent that the Captains had publicly exhorted the young men to come and massacre us at this village of Ossosane, where we then were. Nevertheless, he to whom nothing is impossible has facilitated the enterprise, in both respects, more than we would ever have dared to hope.

se tranfporte à ce Bourg, parle aux particulieres, puis au Cōfeil, & faiët fi bien, qu'il gagne les vns & les autres; de forte qu'en peu de temps ils arrefterent de nous receuoir dans leur bourg, & de nous y donner vne cabane. Ce qui fut executé, la premiere Meffe y fut dite le 25. de Iuin, au grand contentement de nos Peres, qui auoient de la peine de croire ce qu'ils voyoient; tant vn peu auparauant, ce bourg nous auoit eu en abomination.

[63] Il eft vray que cefte cabane eft fi pauvre & fi chetiue, que fi le Sauueur du monde n'eût autrefois pris luy-mefme dans le neceffité, le logement de l'eftable de Bethleë, nous aurions de la peine de luy donner tous les iours vne efpece de nouuelle naiffance en ce lieu, qui n'eft couuert que de mefchantes efcorces, par où le vent entre de tous coftez. Mais le neceffité & l'impuiffance de mieux, nous excufe facilement enuers la diuine Maiefté. Voila la premiere année accomplie depuis l'eftabliffement de cefte Refidence: voicy les fruiëts qu'elle a porté.

Enfants baptifez en danger de mort, au nombre de 49. dont dix-huiët s'en font enuolés au Ciel. Des autres qui font réchapez, ie ne fçay fi plusieurs n'en ont point l'obligation au fainët Baptesme.

Adultes baptifez dans la maladie, apres auoir efté inftruits au nombre de quarante-quatre, dont vingt-fix ont pris, comme il eft à efperer, le mefme chemin du Ciel. De ceux qui font racheptez, quelques-vns ont fait profeflion d'en auoir l'obligation au fainët baptesme; mais tous ceux qui luy ont cefte obligation, n'en ont pas, à noftre grãd regret, tel reffentimēt qu'ils deuroiēt.

[64] Adultes Cathecumenes baptifez en plaine fanté avec leurs enfans, au nombre de vingt-huiët.

Accordingly, sustained by God alone, Father Jean de Brebeuf repaired to this Village, spoke to individuals and then to the Council, and did so well that he won them both over,—so that in a little while they decided to receive us in their village and give us a cabin there. This was accomplished, and the first Mass was said there on the 25th of June,—to the great satisfaction of our Fathers, who could hardly believe what they saw, so greatly had this village abominated us a little while before.

[63] It is true that this cabin is so poor and so mean that, if the Savior of the world had not himself once, in time of need, taken lodging in the stable of Bethlehem, we would be at a loss to give him each day a sort of new birth in this place, which is covered only with wretched bark, through which the wind enters on every side. But necessity, and our inability to have anything better, excuses us easily to the divine Majesty. Now is completed the first year since the establishment of this Residence; behold the fruits it has borne.

Children baptized, in danger of death, to the number of 49, of whom eighteen have flown away to Heaven. Of the others who have recovered I do not know if several are not under obligation therefor to holy Baptism.

Adults baptized in sickness after having been instructed, to the number of forty-four, of whom twenty-six, it is to be hoped, have taken the same road to Heaven. Of those who survived, some have professed to be under obligations to holy baptism; but, to our great regret, not all those who are under this obligation feel such gratitude as they should.

[64] Adult Catechumens, baptized in full health

Venons aux particularitez les plus remarquables de ces baptêmes.

Le premier baptisé dans ce bourg ayant esté vn pauvre malheureux Hiroquois, prisonnier de guerre, qu'on menoit à vn autre bourg voisin, pour le donner en recompense, aux parents de ce braue Taratšane, qui fut pris ces années passées par les ennemis, comme il a esté remarqué dans les precedentes Relations. Je ne sçay si ie ne dois point vn peu arrester à considerer & admirer l'adorable Prouidence de Dieu, sur ce pauvre mal heureux, & sur ses semblables, au nombre de 12. ou 13. baptisez par les Peres de ceste Residence, mais i'ayme mieux laisser ceste reflexion à ceux qui ietteront les yeux sur ce Narré, & m'arrester seulement à remarquer quelques circonstance de ces rencôtres qui les rendent plus considerables.

De long-temps les Hurons n'ont eu plus de bonheur & dauantage sur leurs ennemis, que l'année derniere. Estants allez à la guerre avec quelques Algonquains leurs voisins, ils prirent pour vn [65] coup, de leurs ennemis enuiron quatre-vingts, qu'ils amenerent en vie dans le païs. Outre cét aduantage le plus considerable de tous, ils en ont eu d'autres de moindre importance, qui en tout leur ont donné plus de cent prisonniers.

Tous ceux qui ont esté destinez pour les Bourgs où nous auons des residences, ou pour les voisins; ont esté, graces à Dieu, instruits & baptisez; & presque pas vn sans des rencontres si particulieres, qu'il y a fuiet de croire, qu'il y auoit en leur fait quelque conduite speciale de la diuine Prouidence & de leur predestination. En plusieurs on n'a eu que le temps precisément qu'il falloit pour leur instruction & baptême:



with their children, to the number of twenty-eight.

Let us come to the most noteworthy particulars of these baptisms.

The first one baptized in this village was a poor unfortunate *Hiroquois*, a prisoner of war, who was taken to another village, near this, to be given as a recompense to the relatives of that brave *Taratwane* who was captured during these last years by the enemy, as has been mentioned in previous Relations. I do not know if I should not tarry for a moment to consider and admire the adorable Providence of God towards this poor wretch, and his fellow prisoners, to the number of 12 or 13, baptized by the Fathers of this Residence; but I prefer to leave these reflections to those who shall cast their eyes over this Narrative, and to stop only to observe some circumstances of these events which render them more important.

For a long time, the *Hurons* had no more good fortune or advantage over their enemies until last year. Having gone to war, together with some *Algonquains*, their neighbors, they captured at one [65] stroke about eighty of their enemies, whom they brought home alive. Besides this victory, the most notable of all, they had others of less importance, which in all gave them more than a hundred prisoners.

All those who were assigned to the Villages where we have residences, or which are near these, were, thank God, instructed and baptized, and hardly one without circumstances so peculiar that there is reason to believe that there was, in their cases, some special guidance of divine Providence and of their predestination. In many instances, we had only the exact time necessary for their instruction and baptism; others,

d'autres apres estre baptifez, se font trouuez si confolez, qu'ils ne se pouuoient tenir de mettre en chanfon ce fuiet de leur confolation, qu'au moins dorefnauant ils estoient affeurez d'aller au Ciel. D'autres ont refusé genereusement de contrefaire des actions fales & impudiques, à quoy on les vouloit porter: D'autres en fuite ont fait paroistre tant de constance dans leurs tourmens, que nos Barbares prirent resolution de ne plus souffrir qu'on baptisast ces pauvres infortunez, reputans [66] à mal-heur pour leur païs, quand ceux qu'ils tourmentent ne crient point ou fort peu.

En effet, cela nous a donné depuis tant de peine, qu'il n'y en a eu pas vn pour lequel baptiser il n'ait fallu donner des batailles contre ceux qui en font les Maistres & les Gardiens. Et quelquefois [il] a esté necessaire de redimer ceste violence de quelque present.

Entre ceux qui ont fait paroistre plus de constance & plus de cognoissance de leur bon-heur, a esté vn nommé Ononel8aia, & en son baptesme Pierre, qui fut vn des prisonniers de cette principale défaite, dont nous venons de parler, Capitaine des Onei8chronons nation d'Hiroquois. Celuy-cy estant attaché à vn pieu sur vn theatre, non guiere loin d'un sien compaignon attaché à vn autre, où nos barbares les tourmentoient à l'enuy les vns des autres, par l'application des flammes, des tisons, & des fers ardents, avec des façons cruelles au delà de tout ce qui s'en peut escrire, & de toute l'imagination de ceux qui ne l'ont point veu. Pierre, dis-ie, voyant ce sien compaignon perdre patience dans ces tourmens, le consoloit & l'encourageoit [67] par la representation du bon-heur qu'ils auoient rencontré dans leur mal-heur, & de celui qui leur estoit preparé apres cette vie. En fin

after having been baptized, were so comforted that they could not refrain from putting into song the cause of their consolation,—that thenceforward, at least, they were sure of going to Heaven. Others nobly refused to imitate foul and immodest actions to which their captors tried to incite them. Others afterward displayed so much fortitude in their torments that our Barbarians resolved no longer to allow us to baptize these poor unfortunates, reckoning [66] it a misfortune to their country when those whom they torment shriek not at all, or very little.

Indeed, this has given us so much trouble since then, that there has not been one of these for whose baptism we have not been obliged to give battle to those who are their Masters and Guardians; and sometimes it has been necessary to atone for this violence by some present.

Among those who showed most fortitude, and most appreciation of their good fortune, was one Ononel-waia, in baptism named Pierre, who was one of the prisoners at that principal defeat of which we have just spoken, a Captain of the Oneiouchronons, a nation of the Hiroquois.<sup>4</sup> This man, being fastened to a stake upon a platform, not very far from his companion fastened to another,—where our barbarians, every one according to his pleasure, tormented them, by the application of flames, firebrands, and glowing irons, in ways cruel beyond all power of description, and beyond all imagination of those who have not seen it,—Pierre, I say, seeing this companion of his lose patience in the midst of these torments, comforted and encouraged him [67] by representing the blessedness they had found in their misfortune, and that which was prepared for them after this life.

le voyant mort, ah, dit-il, mon pauvre camarade, as-tu demandé pardon à Dieu devant que de mourir? craignant que ce qu'il avoit tefmoigné de douleur, ne fut quelque peché confiderable.

Ce braue courage qui meritoit vne meilleure fortune, ne fut iamais plus tourmenté par nos barbares que depuis la mort de ce sien compaignon. Car celuy-cy eftât mort pluſtoſt qu'ils ne s'attendoient, ils deſchargerent tous enfemble le reſte de leur fureur ſur celui qui reſtoit. La premiere choſe donc qu'en fuite ils luy firent, fuſt qu'un d'eux lui cerna avec un couſteau la peau de la teſte, laquelle il eſcorcha, pour emporter la chevelure, & la garder ſelon leur couſtume fort precieufement.

Après un tel traitement, à peine croyoit-on qu'il reſtaſt en un corps ſi uſé de tourments aucun ſentiment de la vie: mais voila qu'il ſe leue ſubitement, & ne voyant ſur l'eſchaffaut que le cadaure de ſon cher compaignon, il arme ſes mains qui [68] eſtoient toutes en lambeaux, d'un tifon, pour ne pas mourir en captif, & defendre ce peu de liberté qu'il avoit recourée un peu auparavant la mort. La rage & les cris de ſes ennemis redoublent à ce ſpectacle, ils accourent à luy les fers tous rouges à la main. Son courage luy donne des forces, il ſe met en deffences, il darde ſes tifons ſur ceux qui l'approchèt plus pres, il abat les eſchelles pour leur rompre chemin, & ſe fert des feux & des flammes dont il venoit d'eſprouver la rigueur, pour repouffer fortement leur aſſaut. Le ſang qui rejalliffoit de ſa teſte ſur tout ſon corps euſt fendu de pitié un cœur qui euſt eu quelque reſte d'humanité: mais la fureur de nos barbares y trouvoit ſon contentement. Les uns luy iettent des char-

Finally seeing him dead, "Ah, my poor comrade," said he, "didst thou ask pardon of God before dying?"—fearing that the evidence of suffering he had given was some grievous sin.

This brave spirit, who merited a better fate, was more tormented than ever by our barbarians after the death of his companion; for, the latter having died sooner than they expected, they all wreaked the rest of their fury upon him who remained. Accordingly, the first thing they did to him afterward was that one of them cut with a knife around his scalp, which he stripped off in order to carry away the hair, and, according to their custom, to preserve it as very precious.

After such treatment one would hardly believe that there could remain any sensation of life in a body so worn out with tortures. But lo! he suddenly rises, and, seeing upon the scaffold only the corpse of his dear companion, he takes in his hands, which [68] were all in shreds, a firebrand, that he might not die as a captive, and that he might defend the brief liberty he had recovered a little while before death. The rage and the cries of his enemies redouble at this sight; they rush towards him with pieces of red-hot iron in their hands. His courage gives him strength; he puts himself on the defensive; he hurls his firebrands upon those who come nearest him; he throws down the ladders, to cut off their way, and avails himself of the fire and flame, the severity of which he has just experienced, to repel their attack vigorously. The blood that streamed down from his head over his entire body would have rent with pity a heart which had any remnant of humanity; but the fury of our barbarians found therein its satisfaction.

bons & des cendres ardentes, les autres de deffous l'eschafaut trouuent passage à leurs tifons. Il voit de toutes parts quasi autant de bourreaux que de spectateurs, lors qu'il éuite vn feu, il en rencontre vn autre, & ne fait aucune démarche qu'il ne tombe dans le mal-heur qu'il fuit.

En se defendant vn long temps de la forte, vn faux pas le fait tomber en arriere [69] par terre. Ses ennemis en mesme temps fondent sur luy, le brulent derechef, puis le iettent au feu. Ce courage invincible se releue du milieu des flammes, tout reuestu du cendres qui s'estoient imbuës dans son sang. Deux tifons tous flambans en ses mains, il se tourne vers le gros de ses ennemis, pour leur donner la peur encore vne fois auant que de mourir. Pas vn n'est si hardy que de l'attendre, il se fait place & marche vers le Bourg, comme pour y mettre le feu.

Il auance enuiron cent pas, qu'on luy iette vn baston qui le renuerse à terre; ruant [*sc.* auant] qu'il se releue, on est sur luy, ils luy coupent les pieds & les mains, & ayants pris le reste de ce corps tronçonné, ils le tournent de tous costez sur neuf diuers brazier, qu'il estouffa quasi tous de son sang. En fin ils le fourrent sous vn tronc d'arbre tout en feu, renuersé par terre; afin qu'en mesme temps il n'y eut partie de son corps qui ne fust cruellement brulée. Ce fut alors que la nature, deuant que ceder à la cruauté des supplices, fit vn dernier effort que iamais on n'eust attendu. Car n'ayant ny pieds ny mains, il se roula dedans les flammes, & s'en estant mis hors, marcha [70] plus de dix pas sur les coudes & sur les genoux du costé de ses ennemis, qui s'enfuirent de luy, redoutans les approches d'un homme auquel rien

Some throw upon him coals and burning cinders; others underneath the scaffold find open places for their firebrands. He sees on all sides almost as many butchers as spectators; when he escapes one fire, he encounters another, and takes not one step without falling into the evil that he flees.

While defending himself thus for a long time, a false step causes him to fall backward [69] to the ground. At the same time, his enemies pounce upon him, burn him anew, then throw him upon the fire. This invincible spirit, rising again from the midst of the flames,—all covered with cinders that were imbued in his blood, two flaming firebrands in his hands,—turns towards the mass of his enemies, to inspire them with fear once more before he dies. Not one is so hardy as to touch him; he makes a way for himself, and walks towards the Village, as if to set it on fire.

He advances about a hundred paces, when some one throws a club which fells him to the ground; before he can rise again, they are upon him; they cut off his feet and hands, and, having seized the rest of this mangled body, they turn it round and round over nine different fires, which he almost entirely extinguished with his blood. Finally they thrust him under an overturned tree-trunk, all on fire, so that, at the same time, there may be no part of his body which is not cruelly burned. It was then that nature, before yielding to the cruelty of these torments, made one last effort, that could never have been expected. For, having neither feet nor hands, he rolled over in the flames, and, having fallen outside of them, he moved [70] more than ten paces, upon his elbows and knees, in the direction of his enemies,

ne reſtoit que le courage, qu'ils ne pou[u]oient pas luy raurir, ſinon luy arrachant la vie.

Ce qu'ils firent en fin, vn d'eux luy couppant la teſte avec vn couſteau: coup heureux qui luy donne la liberté, car nous auons fuiet de croire que ce braue courage ioüit maintenant dans le Ciel de la liberté des enfans de Dieu, puisque meſme ſes ennemis crioient tout haut qu'il y auoit plus que de l'humain là dedans, & que ſans doute le baptême luy auoit donné ſes forces & ce courage, qui ſurpaſſoit tout ce que iamais ils auoient veu.

Quelques Sauuages ont rapporté avec admiration, & quelque eſpece de conuiſſion des veritez que nous leurs preſchôs, qu'un peu deuant qu'il receut le dernier coup qui luy apporta la mort, il leua les yeux au Ciel, & s'eſcria avec ioye; Allons donc, allons, comme s'il euſt reſpondu à vne voix qui l'inuitoit.

Certes il ſemble qu'il ne s'agiſſoit d'autre voyage que de celui du Ciel, où ſans diſtinction le captif s'il le veut a autant de [71] droit & d'accez que celui qui eſt en liberté. On apprend des autres priſonniers ſes compagnons de fortune & de miſere ce qui ſuit.

Quelques Auanturiers de la bande de nos Hurons & Algonquains, ayans en ceſte principale défaite deuanté leur troupe qui eſtoit de trois cens hommes; pour decouurir s'il n'y auoit point d'ennemis en embuſcade, s'en trouuerent pluſtoſt plus proches qu'ils penſoient. Ils ne furent pas toutesfois tellement ſurpris, que la pluſpart ne peût ſe retirer vers le gros: vn d'eux ſeulement fut atrappé par les ennemis, qui ſe voyans deſcouverts prinrent reſoluſiô de s'en retourner avec ceſte ſeule conqueſte, quoy qu'ils fuſſent au nombre de cent. Mais le captif les voyant en ceſte



who fled from him, dreading the approach of a man to whom nothing remained but courage, of which they could not deprive him except by wresting away his life.

This they finally did, one of them cutting off his head with a knife. Happy stroke which gave him freedom! For we have reason to believe that this brave spirit is now enjoying in Heaven the freedom of the children of God, since even his enemies loudly exclaimed that there was something more than human within him, and that without doubt baptism had given him his strength and courage, which surpassed all that they had ever seen.

Several Savages have reported with wonder, and a sort of conviction of the truths that we preach to them, that, shortly before he received the last blow which caused his death, he raised his eyes to Heaven and cried out joyfully, "Let us go, then, let us go," as if he were answering a voice that invited him.

Surely it would seem that he had in mind no other journey except that to Heaven, to which, without distinction, the captive, if he so will, has as much [71] right and admission as he who is free. The following was learned from some of the other prisoners, his companions in misfortune and misery:

Some Adventurers from the band of our Hurons and Algonquains having, in that most important defeat, gone on ahead of their troop of three hundred men to discover if there were any of the enemy in ambush, found themselves rather nearer than they thought. They were not, however, so greatly taken by surprise that the majority of them could not retreat to the main body; only one of them was caught by the enemy, who, finding that they were discovered,

disposition, leur donna à entendre que ceux qui venoient apres eux n'estoient pas en tel nombre qu'ils n'en peussent facilement venir à bout: Il leur dit cela d'un tel air, & d'un tel accent, qu'ils le creurent, & se resolurent de faire un fort, & là d'attendre tout le gros de leurs ennemis. Mais ils furent bien estonnez à l'approche de nos Barbares d'en voir la multitude, & de se voir entournez de la forte, qu'à peine [72] auoient-ils le moyen de fuyr. Toutefois y ayant encore quelque endroit par où ils pouuoient eschapper, apres auoir déchargé leur colere sur leur captif, qu'ils mirent aussi-tost en pieces, on mit en deliberation ce qu'il y auoit à faire.

La pluspart opinant à la fuite, Ononksaia ou Pierre, celuy dont nous venons de parler, iettant les yeux au Ciel, & voyant le Soleil sans aucun nuage. Ceste resolution, dit-il, feroit passable, si le Ciel estoit couuert & si le Soleil ne deuoit estre spectateur de ceste lâcheté; mais cela, n'estant pas, il faut combattre tant que nous pourrons, & puis un chacun aduifera à ce qu'il a à faire, ainsi dit, ainsi executé. Mais nos Hurons & Algonquains ioièrent si bien leur personnage, que n'en ayant tué sur la place que 17. ou 18. ils prirent tout le reste en vie, à la reserue de quatre ou cinq qui leur eschaperent. Et les ayans tous amenez au païs, ils furent distribuez par tous les bourgs, où on leur fit souffrir ce qu'il n'est pas possible d'expliquer.

Je ne puis toutefois obmettre icy vne circonstance des cruantez que l'on exerça sur celuy qui le premier depuis mon arriuée en ce païs, y fust amené prisonnier de [73] guerre, ce fut le premier iour de Decembre, ce qui donna occasion de le nommer en son Bap-

decided to return with this one trophy, although they were a hundred in number. But the captive, seeing them in this mind, gave them to understand that those who were coming against them were not so numerous that they could not easily overpower them. He told them this in such a manner and such a tone that they believed him, and resolved to make a fort, and there await the entire body of their enemies. But they were utterly astounded, when our Barbarians approached, to see the multitude of these, and to find themselves so surrounded that they hardly [72] had a chance to flee. However, there being still a certain place through which they could escape, they began—after having vented their wrath upon their captive, whom they immediately tore to pieces—to consider what was to be done.

The majority advising flight, Ononkwaia, or Pierre, he of whom we have just spoken, casting his eyes on the Sky and seeing the unclouded Sun, said, "This resolution would be passable if the Sky were covered and if the Sun were not a spectator of this cowardice; but as it is, we must fight as stoutly as we can, and then each one shall decide what he ought to do." No sooner said than done. But our Hurons and Algonquains played their parts so well that, having killed upon the spot only 17 or 18, they took alive all the rest, except four or five who escaped them; and all these, having been brought to this country, were distributed through all the villages, where they were made to endure sufferings which it is not possible to describe.

I cannot, however, omit here one detail of the cruelties that were practiced upon the first captive tormented after my arrival in this country, who had

tesme François, en l'honneur de sainct François Xauier, dont le lendemain nous faisions la feste. Ce pauvre mal-heureux la nuit de ses tourmens (car il est de l'essence d'y employer au moins toute vne nuit) fut entr'autres entrepris par vn de nos Barbares: qui luy ayant commandé de mettre les mains contre terre, les luy perça l'une apres l'autre avec vn fer ardent, & ne cessa de les hauffer & baiffer, & les tirailler le long du fer, iusques à ce que le feu en fut esteint. On a dit qu'une autre luy en fit autant aux pieds: il ne falloit plus que luy ouurir le costé, pour estre en quelque maniere semblable à celuy dont le sang luy auoit esté vn peu auparauant appliqué par le S. Baptême, & cela pareillement ne luy manqua pas: car vn peu deuant que d'expirer, on le luy ouurit pour luy arracher le cœur. Si ceste espece de tourment n'a feruy à ce pauvre infortuné pour se consoler de se voir en ceste façon semblable à celuy qu'il ne cognoissoit que pour ne le pas ignorer, & autant seulement qu'il estoit necessaire pour l'experimenter son Sauueur; au moins a-il [74] feruy à d'autres qui ont ressenty des touches particulieres de l'obligatiō que nous auions à ce bon Seigneur & Maistre, qui par les playes qu'il a voulu receuoir pour nous, nous a deliuré des feux & des tourmens, dont ceux que nos Barbares exercent enuers leurs captifs ne font qu'ombres & figures passageres.

Nos Barbares qui sçauent le desplaisir que nous auons de ces cruautéz, & en particulier de leur inhumanité à manger les corps de ces pauvres victimes apres leur mort, trouuerent le moyen pour nous faire despit, de ietter par vne cabane vne des mains de ce pauvre defunct, comme nous donnant nostre part du

been brought hither as a prisoner of [73] war. It was the first day of December, which gave us reason to name him, at his Baptism, François, in honor of saint François Xavier, whose feast we celebrated the next day. This poor wretch on the night of his tortures (for it is essential to employ therein at least one whole night) was, among others, taken in hand by one of our Barbarians, who, having commanded him to put his hands to the ground, pierced them one after the other with a heated iron, and did not cease raising and lowering them, and sliding them along the iron, until its glow was quenched. It was said that some one else did the same thing to his feet. Nothing more was wanting, except to open his side, to make him in some sort like him whose blood a little while before had been applied to him through Holy Baptism,—that, likewise, did not fail him, for shortly before expiring, it was opened to tear out his heart. If this kind of torture did not serve this poor wretch as a consolation,—in seeing himself in this respect like him whom he knew simply in not being ignorant of him, and only as much as was necessary to experience him as his Savior,—at least it [74] availed with the others, who experienced a special sense of the obligation laid upon us by this good Lord and Master, who, by the wounds that he consented to receive for us, has delivered us from the fires and torments, of which those that our Barbarians exercise upon their captives are only transient shadows and images.

Our Barbarians,—who know the displeasure that we feel at these cruelties, and particularly at their inhumanity in eating the bodies of these poor victims after their death,—found means, in order to annoy

festin. Nous fufmes furpris voyans à nos pieds ceste main percée; & confiderans que c'estoit la main d'un Chrestien, nous l'enterrafmes en nostre Chapelle, & priaſmes Dieu pour le repos de son ame.

On feroit vn Roman des aduentures de ce pauvre captif. Il estoit Agnierhonon de Nation, qui fait vne des cinq des Hiroquois, la plus esloignée de nos Hurons, il partit de son païs pour venir aux nations des Hiroquois les plus proches de nous, avec dessein d'y traiter quelque pourcelaine [75] qu'il portoit, pour des castors. Mais estant arriué, au lieu de faire ce pourquoy il estoit venu, il se met à ioïer, & perd tout ce qu'il auoit apporté. Honteux de retourner au païs sans autre effect, il prend resolution de s'arrester là quelque temps, & voyant vn peu apres que quelques-vns du lieu où il estoit s'en venoient à la guerre en nos quartiers, il se met de la partie, mais leurs desseins ayants mal reüssi, il fut du nombre des captifs, & amené en ce bourg, où il fit la fin que nous venons de representer.

Mais laissons ces pauvres captifs, & venons à d'autres fortes de baptême & de conuersion.

Ce n'est pas l'ordre de la Nature de dōner les fruits de la terre sinon apres vne année esoulée des influences des astres, du Ciel, & du trauail des hommes: mais la grace ne s'attache pas tousiours aux loix de la Nature, & il a pleü à Dieu en dispenſer en l'establissement de la nouvelle Eglise de ce bourg. Ou apres six mois de trauail on a veu ce qu'en plusieurs années on n'a peu faire ailleurs. En fuite donc des instructions generales & particulieres qui ont esté données aux habitans de ce bourg [76] par les Peres de ceste Residence, selon l'ordre déclaré au chap. 2.

us, of throwing one of the hands of this poor dead man into our cabin, as if giving us our share of the feast. We were surprised to see at our feet this pierced hand; and considering that it was the hand of a Christian, we buried it in our Chapel and prayed to God for the repose of his soul.

One could make a Romance of the adventures of this poor captive. He was of the Agnierhonon Nation, which forms one of the five Nations of the Hiroquois, the one farthest from our Hurons. He left his own country to come to the Hiroquois nations nearer to us, intending to trade some porcelain [75] that he had brought for some beavers. But, when he arrived, instead of doing this for which he had come, he began to gamble and lost all he had brought with him. Ashamed to return home without any other achievement, he decided to remain there for some time; and, a little while afterwards seeing some people from that place who were undertaking a raid into our region, he became one of the party; but, their plans having resulted unsuccessfully, he was one of the captives, and was brought to this village, where he came to the end we have just described.

But let us leave these poor captives and come to other kinds of baptism and conversion.

It is not the order of Nature to give the fruits of the earth until after a year spent under the influences of the stars, of the Sky, and of the work of man; but grace does not always adhere to the laws of Nature, and it has pleased God to dispense with them in the establishment of the new Church of this village, where, after six months of labor, has been seen what one could not expect to do elsewhere in several years. In consequence, then, of the instructions, both gen-

le premier des Cathecumenes qui se declare pour conu[a]incu & resolu de fuire la Vocation & femonce du S. Esprit, qui en fuite demanda instamment le Baptisme, fut vn bon vieillard d'environ 70 ans nommé Aochiati.

On ne fust pas long temps à reconnoistre qu'il parloit tout de bon, & qu'en effect il croyoit, & vouloit tout ce qui estoit neccessaire pour receuoir le Baptisme. Et quoy qu'en fuitte on eust fuiet d'esperer qu'il ne feroit pas moins qu'il promettoit, toutefois la qualité de Sauvage nous empeschoit de nous haster en ceste affaire, & de luy donner contentement aussitost qu'il le desiroit. Mais le temps le pressant d'aller à vne traite, où il deuoit passer trois mois de temps avec beaucoup de dangers de sa vie, il redoubla ses instances, priant qu'on donna ceste consolation à son ame, qui ne pouuoit autrement, disoit-il, estre en repos; puis qu'apres la mort, ceux qui n'estoient point baptifez alloient en des feux qui ne s'esteignent iamais.

Nonobstant toutes ces instances, on iugea à propos de le differer, & se contenta-on de le bien instruire & informer de l'acte [76 i.e., 77] de contrition: & ce pour bonnes raisons & considerations. Mais il semble que la diuine Prouidence nous voulut faire voir clairement qu'elle l'auoit destiné de toute Eternité pour estre la premiere pierre fondamentale de la nouvelle Eglise de ce bourg. Car deux iours apres son depart, le voila fu[r]pris d'un si mauuais temps, & aduertý par tant de personnes des embusches des ennemis, qu'il fut contraint de rebrouffer chemin, & de reuenir icy attendre vn temps plus fauorable, & de meilleurs nouuelles.



eral and individual, that were given to the inhabitants of this village [76] by the Fathers of this Residence, according to the order mentioned in chapter 2nd, the first of the Catechumens who declared himself convinced, and determined to follow the Call and invitation of the Holy Ghost, and who, consequently, earnestly desired Baptism, was a good old man about 70 years old, named Aochiati.

It did not take long to recognize that he spoke in earnest, what he said, and that he really believed and purposed all that was necessary in order to receive Baptism. And although we therefore had reason to hope that he would not do less than he promised, yet his Savage character forbade us to be hasty in this matter, and to give him satisfaction as soon as he desired it. But—as he had little time before departing for the trade, in which he must pass three months with many dangers to his life—he redoubled his entreaties, praying that this consolation might be given to his soul, which could not otherwise, said he, remain at peace, since after death those who were not baptized went into fires which were never extinguished.

Notwithstanding all these entreaties, they considered it wise to put him off, and contented themselves with instructing him thoroughly and teaching him the act [76 i.e., 77] of contrition, and this for excellent reasons and considerations. But it seems that divine Providence wished to make us see clearly that it had destined him from all Eternity to be the first foundation stone of the new Church of this village. For, two days after his departure, he was overtaken by so bad weather, and warned by so many persons regarding ambushes of the enemy, that he

Au meſme temps de ſon retour, ſe trouua icy ce braue Chreſtien de la Reſidence de la Conception Ioseph Chihſatenhſa, les diſcours & la conuerſation duquel l'ayant eſchaufé plus que iamais, il redoubla ſes inſtances du baptême, qui en fin fut accordé le 20. de Decembre, & fut nommé Mathias, comme celui ſur lequel eſtoit tombé le ſort de premier Chreſtien de ce bourg, comme de Cathecumene baptisé en pleine ſanté, & avec ſolemnité. Et il ſe trouua que ſa cabane portoit le nom de ce ſainct Apoſtre, conformément à la deuotion qu'on a eue de mettre chaque cabane de Sauuages, des bourgs où nous trauaillons, [78] ſous le patronage & la protection de quelque ſainct ou ſaincte du Paradis.

Ce qui nous fit plus facilement condeſcendre à ſon deſir, fut qu'il eſtoit tous les iours ſur le point de ſe mettre en chemin, & que quatre ou cinq iours auparauant il auoit proteſté à quelques Chefs du bourg qu'il eſtoit preſt de quitter toutes les danſes & ſuperſtitions diaboliques du païs, mais particulièrement la danſe des Nuds, dont il eſtoit le chef & le Maiſtre. Ce bon homme apres auoir reſpondu & ſatisfait à toutes les abrenonciations qui ſe trouuent dans les ceremonies du Baptême, pendant la Meſſe repaſſant dans ſon eſprit ſ'il y auoit plus rien de mal à quoy il euſt de l'attache, ne luy eſtant rien venu dont il douta, que le Petun; il demanda auſſi-toſt ſi le petun eſtoit defendu, & donna à entendre qu'il eſtoit tout preſt de le quitter, & abandonner en cas qu'il ne fuſt pas permis de ſ'en feruir. Ceſte reſolution peut paſſer pour des actes des plus heroïques que puiſſe faire vn Sauuage, qui ſe paſſeroit ce ſemble auſſi-toſt de viure que de petuner.

Avec ce bon homme qui eſtoit veuf, furent bapti-

was obliged to retrace his steps and return hither to await more favorable weather, and better news.

At the very time of his return, there happened to be here that brave Christian of the Residence of la Conception, Joseph Chihwatenhwa, whose speeches and conversations having more than ever kindled him, he redoubled his earnest requests for baptism, which was finally granted him on the 20th of December; he was named Mathias, as the one to whose lot it had fallen to be the first Christian of this village, as well as the first Catechumen baptized in good health and with solemnity. And it happened that his cabin bore the name of this holy Apostle, in accordance with the devout purpose that we have entertained to place every cabin of the Savages, in the village where we labor, [78] under the patronage and protection of some saint of Paradise.

What caused us the more readily to yield to his wishes was that he was daily upon the point of setting out on his journey, and that, four or five days before, he had protested to some Chiefs of the village that he was ready to give up all the dances and diabolical superstitions of the country, but particularly the dance of the Naked ones, of which he was the head and Master. This good man, after having answered and performed all the renunciations that are found in the ceremonies of Baptism, during Mass mentally revolving the question if there were any evil thing to which he was attached, and nothing occurring to him but Tobacco, immediately asked if tobacco were forbidden, explaining that he was quite ready to give it up and abandon it, in case it were not allowable to use it. This resolution may pass for one of the most heroic acts of which a Savage is

fées deux siennes petites filles, lesquelles il cherissoit vniquement, ce [79] qui n'estoit pas vne petite marque de sa foy, & de son affection au Christianisme, veu l'imagination commune de tout le païs que le Baptisme fait mourir toute forte de personnes, mais particulièrement les enfants.

L'exemple de celuy-cy fut fuiuy quelques iours apres d'onze autres personnes, choisies du nombre des Cathecumenes, qu'on auoit soigneusement instruits, & qui ne cessoient de demander le baptisme. Ces douze ou quinze donc se trouuâs tous ensemble à la Messe le premier iour de l'année 1639. c'est le iour que nous remarquerons & recognoistrons à iamais pour celuy de la naissance de cette Nou. Eglise, comme celuy de la Conception de la Vierge, pour la naissance de celle de la Residence de la Conception.

Depuis ce temps on a continué de fois à autre de baptiser ceux & celles qui se sont trouuez disposez & capables de ce bien; de forte que le nombre des personnes baptizées en ce Bourg, faisans profession du Christianisme, monte de present à pres de trente, comme nous auons dit cy-deffus.

Ie ne m'estendray point icy sur le contentement & la fatisfaction que nous donne [80] ce petit troupeau, & particulièrement quelques-vns: non plus que sur les causes qui ont precedé & concouru à ce saint Ouurage, le tout estant semblable, & presque en rien different de ce que nous auons deduit au Chapitre precedent, parlant de la naissance de la Nou. Eglise de la Residence de la Conception. Quand il n'y auroit que la resolution, & la confiance de ces Neophytes, à faire profession du Christianisme au beau milieu de leur Nation, l'une des plus peruerfes de la terre; où ils se

capable, who, it seems, would as soon dispense with eating as with smoking.

With this good man, who was a widower, were baptized two of his granddaughters, whom he singularly cherished, which [79] was no small mark of his faith and of his love for Christianity, considering the idea common throughout the country that Baptism caused all classes of people to die, but especially children.

This man's example was followed a few days afterwards by eleven other persons, chosen from the number of Catechumens, who had been carefully instructed and who were continually asking for baptism. Accordingly, these twelve or fifteen being all present at Mass on the first day of the year 1639, this is the day which we shall always observe and recognize as that of the birth of this New Church,—as that of the Conception of the Virgin, as the birthday of the church at the Residence of la Conception.

Since then we have continued from time to time to baptize men and women who have been found willing and fitted to receive this blessing; so that the number of persons baptized in this Village, making profession of Christianity, at present amounts to nearly thirty, as we have said above.

I shall not enlarge here upon the comfort and satisfaction that is afforded us [80] by this little company, and especially by some of them, nor upon the causes which have preceded and contributed to this holy Work,—the whole resembling, and in scarcely any respect unlike, what we have related in the preceding Chapter, in speaking of the birth of the New Church of the Residence of la Conception. If it were only a matter of resolution and courage of these Neo-

trouuent dans les attaques continuelles des railleries & calomnies, des craintes & frayeurs, des mal-heurs dont on les menace de tous costez; en fuite de ce qu'ils se font faits Chrestiens: Quand, dis-ie, il n'y auroit que ce poinct, nous aurions tout fuiet d'estre contens. Et cét article semble si considerable, qu'il merite qu'on en parle vn peu plus au long, mais cela se fera plus commodement en l'vn des Chapitres fui-uants; où nous traicterons des trauerfes & difficultez qui se font trouuées, & se rencontrêt encore tous les iours en la naiffance & establissement de ces nouuelles Eglises. Difons auparauant quelque chose des Missions.

phytes in professing Christianity in the very midst of their Nation,—one of the most perverse on earth, where they find themselves continually assailed by mockery and slander, by fears and panics, by misfortunes threatening them on all sides, in consequence of their having become Christians,—if, I say, this were the only thing, we would have every reason to be satisfied. And this feature seems so important, that it deserves to be spoken of somewhat more at length; but that will occur more conveniently in one of the following Chapters, where we shall treat of the obstacles and difficulties that still exist, and are every day encountered, in the birth and establishment of these new Churches. Let us first say something of the Missions.

## [81] CHAP. VI.

DE CE QUI S'EST PASSÉ DE PLUS REMARQUABLE DANS  
LES MISSIONS.

**D**E dix Peres de nostre Compagnie qu'il y a icy, s'en estant trouué sept sur la fin de l'année passée (non sans vne grace & faueur tres speciale de Dieu) qui entendoient la langue de nos Sauvages, & la parloient suffisamment pour conuerſer avec fruit parmy eux, & leur donner les instructions necessaires pour leur salut: Et trois autres derniers venus, qui deux ou trois mois apres leur arriüée, par le secours & assistance des autres, qui ont heureusement reüssi à reduire cette langue & preceptes, & en faciliter l'entrée à ceux qui viennent de nouveau, se trouuoient capables de tenir vne petite escole, pour enseigner les enfans à prier Dieu: On considéra que trois des anciens, avec vn nouveau, pouuans en quelque façon suffire au travail de la vigne de chaque Residence, on pourroit se seruir d'un ancien avec vn [82] nouveau, pour aller battre la campagne, & seruir aux desseins de la diuine Prouidence sur quelque predestiné.

Le Bourg sur lequel d'abord on ietta les yeux, fut celui de Scanonaenrat, tant parce que c'est vn des plus considerables du pays, faisant luy seul vne nation entiere, des quatre qui composent les Hurons, ainsi que nous auons déclaré au Chapitre premier, que parce qu'il n'est esloigné que de cinq quarts de lieues



## [81] CHAP. VI.

## OF THE MOST REMARKABLE EVENTS THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN THE MISSIONS.

OF the ten Fathers of our Society who are here, there were seven at the end of last year (not without most special grace and favor of God) who understood the language of our Savages, and spoke it well enough to converse profitably among them, and give them the instruction necessary for their salvation; and three others, newcomers, who, two or three months after their arrival,—by the help and assistance of the others, who fortunately have succeeded in reducing this language to rules, thereby facilitating its acquisition by those who have recently come,—found themselves qualified to conduct a little school where they might teach the children to pray to God. We considered that,—as three of the seniors, with one new man, would be sufficient, in some fashion, for the work of the vineyard in each Residence,—one senior, with one new man, could be employed [82] to go and scour the country, and help to execute the designs of divine Providence upon some predestined soul.

The Village upon which, at the outset, we cast our eyes was Scanonaenrat, both because it is one of the most important of the country,—itself alone forming one entire nation of the four that compose the Hurons, as we have explained in the first Chapter,—and because it is distant only one and one-fourth leagues

de la Residence de sainct Ioseph. D'où s'enfuiuoit, que si Dieu donnoit benediction au trauail qu'on auoit à prendre en ce bourg, les Peres de cette Residence pourroient facilement entretenir & arrouser le champ, qui auroit este enfemencé.

Si nous n'eussions eu esgard à la puissance du Maître que nous seruons, & dont nous portons la parole, sans doute il y auoit dequoy s'effrayer, & se rebuter de ce dessein, les barbares de ce bourg passans en commun discours des habitans de ces contrées pour les Demons du pays. Mais tant s'en faut que cette qualité qu'on leur donne nous destournast, que plustost elle nous porta, appuiez vniquement sur le seul fondement & ressort de telles entreprises, [83] qui est IESVS-CHRIST, à donner d'oresnauant à ce bourg le nom de sainct Michel, en l'honneur des saincts Anges; auxquels nous ne desesperions pas que ces pauvres peuples vn iour feroient plustost semblables, qu'à ceux dont on leur donnoit le nom.

Je ne scay si ce fut de l'inuention & stratageme de l'ennemy commun des hommes, qui n'agreoit pas vne telle resolution; que le iour que les deux Peres partirent, deuant arriuer au giste sur les quatre heures du soir, en cette mesme heure ils s'esgarent de la forte dans les bois, qu'ils n'y arriuerent qu'aux quatre heures du matin du lendemain, ayans marché douze heures durant & toute la nuit, chargez pour la plupart du temps chacū d'un paquet, dont en fin ils furent contraints de se décharger du pl<sup>9</sup> pesât, & le cacher proche d'un ruisseau, pour le pouuoir plus aisement retrouver, quand on feroit en estat de le pouuoir chercher.

Il auoit neigé vne bonne partie du iour & si la nuit

from the Residence of saint Joseph; whence it followed that, if God gave his benediction to the work that had been undertaken in that village, the Fathers of this Residence could easily maintain and water the field that had been sown.

If we had not been regardful of the power of the Master whom we serve, and whose message we carry, doubtless there would have been reason to be daunted, and to recoil from this plan,—the barbarians of that village passing, in the common talk of the inhabitants of these regions, for the Demons of the country. But this character that was given them, far from turning us back, rather incited us—resting solely upon the only foundation and resource of such enterprises, [83] which is JESUS CHRIST—to give henceforth to this village the name “saint Michel,” in honor of the holy Angels, like to whom we did not despair that these poor peoples would one day become, rather than like to those whose name had been given them.

I do not know whether it was due to the ingenuity and strategy of the common enemy of mankind, who was not pleased with such a determination, that on the day when the two Fathers set out, expecting to reach their destination about four o'clock in the evening, at that same hour they went so far astray in the woods that they did not arrive until four o'clock the next morning, having walked twelve hours, throughout the night,—each burdened, for the greater part of the way, with a bundle, from the heaviest part of which they were finally obliged to free themselves, and to hide it near a brook, that they might be able the more easily to find it when it should be possible for them to search it out.

eut esté telle qu'il sembloit qu'elle deuoit estre: les deux Peres possible n'en eussēt pas esté quittes à meilleur marché que quelques-vns de nos Sauvages qui [84] s'estans pareillemēt quelque temps apres, esgarez dans les bois pendant la nuit, furent trouuez morts de lendemain. La neige qui estoit tombée, leur fit plus de bien que de mal; car elle leur seruit à appaier la faim, & sur tout la foif, qui dans le tra-uail & le foucy de perfonnes esgarées ne leur donnoit pas peu de peine: Et, à leur rapport, la neige n'est pas vn si mauuais manger qu'on pourroit penfer: ou pour mieux dire, la necessité est vn maistre cuisinier.

Quoy que s'en foit, ils se trouuerent sains & faufs à la maison sur les quatre heures du matin, & leur paquet laiffé proche d'un ruisseau, où estoit vne bonne partie de la Chappelle, fut heureusement retrouvé le mesme iour.

Il pleut à Dieu disposer les affaires de la forte, que l'on fit rencontre d'une cabane dans le bourg de sainct Michel, la plus commode qui se pouoit rencontrer, pour ce qu'on y pretendoit. Il n'y auoit qu'un seul feu ou famille, qui estoit iustement ce qu'il falloit pour estre deschargez du soin du viure: il s'y trouua vn petit retranchement propre à y dresser vne Chappelle, où l'on dit tous les iours la Messe, tant [85] qu'on y demeura, qui fut l'espace de trente iours.

De premier abord, on parle à l'affemblée des Capitaines, qui estoient au nombre de dix ou douze, à qui on declare ce qu'on pretendoit: qui estoit de leur donner & à tout le bourg, la cognoissâce d'un seul Dieu, & de IESVS-CHRIST N. Seigneur & Redempteur. Pourquoy leur dōner mieux à entendre les

It had snowed a good part of the day, and, if the night had been such a one as it seemed bound to be, the two Fathers possibly would not have come out of it more cheaply than did some of our Savages, who, [84] having likewise, some time later, gone astray in the woods during the night, were found dead the next day. The snow which had fallen did them more good than harm, for it served to appease their hunger, and above all their thirst, which, in their labor and anxiety as lost persons, gave them no little trouble; and, according to their story, snow is not so poor eating as one might imagine,—or, to put it better, necessity is a master cook.

Be that as it may, they reached home safe and sound towards four o'clock in the morning, and their bundle, that had been left near a brook, and contained a good part of the Chapel, was fortunately recovered the same day.

It pleased God to so arrange matters that they came across a cabin in the village of saint Michel, the most convenient that could be found for the use that was to be made of it. There was only a single fireplace or family, which was precisely the condition necessary to relieve them from care in regard to food; there was a little compartment suitable for erecting a Chapel, where Mass was said daily, as long [85] as they stayed there, which was for the space of thirty days.

At the very outset, they spoke in the assembly of the Captains, who were ten or twelve in number, to whom they declared their intention, namely, to give to them and to the entire village the knowledge of the one and only God, and of JESUS CHRIST, Our Lord and Redeemer. To make them understand

Peres portoient ordinairement vn Crucifix pendu au col. Le confeil agreea la propofition de ce deffein, avec des formes & des complimens qui furpaffent de beaucoup l'imagination ordinaire qu'on a des Sauvages.

Dés le lendemain, l'un des Peres commença, à faute de la clochette, d'aller faire vne crieée par tout le bourg, felon la coustume du pays pour les affemblées generales: en fuite de laquelle on ne manqua pas de voir bien-toft la cabane toute pleine. Il y auoit trop de nouveauté & d'appareil, pour en attendre moins, mais la confufion obligea les iours fuiuans d'en exclurre les enfans, & leur assigner le temps d'apres les affemblées pour venir à la petite école.

Ce concours toutesfois si general ne dura [86] pas long-temps. On veit bien-toft la feparation du bon grain d'avec le mauuais, & qui estoient les brebis entendant la voix du Pasteur, & qui ne l'estoient pas. Les premiers continuoient d'y venir, & efcoutoient volontiers: les autres apres auoir fatisfait à leur curiosité, ne s'y trouuerent plus: ou s'ils y venoient, ce n'estoit que pour y broüiller, & pour y commettre des infolences. C'est ce qui obligea de changer de batterie, & de s'appliquer totalement à la vifite des cabanes: ou apres qu'on auoit recogneu plus particulièrement les terres où le grain auroit pris racine, ou pourroit faire des affemblées particulieres de ceux qu'on auroit recogneu auoir quelque pieufe affection au Christianisme qu'on leur auoit publié.

L'experience nous a fait voir par tout que c'estoit de la forte qu'il en falloit vfer, au moins avec ce Barbares, parmy lesquels nous viuons. Au commencement qu'on les aborde, il est à propos, voire

this better, the Fathers usually wore each a Crucifix suspended from his neck. The council accepted the statement of this purpose, with formalities and compliments which greatly exceed what one usually imagines of the Savages.

From the next day, one of our Fathers began, for lack of a bell, to go throughout the village, making an announcement, according to the custom of the country for general assemblies,—in consequence of which, they soon saw the cabin entirely filled. There was too much novelty and preparation to expect anything less; but the confusion obliged them, on the following days, to exclude the children and to appoint the time after the assembly for them to come to the little school.

This so general concourse, however, did not continue [86] long. Soon was seen the separation of the good seed from the bad,—and of those who were the sheep waiting for the voice of the Shepherd, from those who were not. The former continued to come, and listened willingly; the latter, after having satisfied their curiosity, were no longer to be seen there,—or, if they did come, it was only to make mischief and perpetrate insolent acts. It was this that obliged us to change our tactics, and to devote ourselves entirely to visiting the cabins,—where, after we had more carefully surveyed the soil where the seed might have taken root, we could form special gatherings of those whom we recognized as having some pious inclinations towards the Christianity that had been proclaimed to them.

Experience has shown us everywhere that this is the method that must be adopted, at least with these Barbarians among whom we live. When one first

neceffaire, de faire tant de predications publiques que l'on peut, puis dans la continuation s'il arriue du defordre, & de l'infolence, on se contète des vifites dans les cabanes, & des fufdites affemblées particulieres, [87] & feulement de fois à autre renouueller le cry, en la publication de l'Euangile, pour feruir au moins à iuftifier vn iour la bonté & mifericorde de Dieu fur ces peuples.

On iugea auffi que des affemblées particulieres de Capitaines & plus anciens du bourg, pourroient eftre de grand profit. Ce que iugeans bien qu'on ne pouuoit pas eſperer que par quelque attraiët temporel, il fallut ſe refoudre de ietter chaque fois quelques pains de petun au milieu de l'affemblée, leſquels auffi toſt eſtoient coupez par morceaux, & distribuez par les principaux Capitaines, ou par leur ordre. Ce qui reüffit comme on le pretendoit. C'eſt en ces affemblées où ſe trouua quelquefois le Chreſtien de la Conception Ioseph Cheſatenhſa, dans leſquels il fit merueilles de bien parler & expliquer nos myſteres.

Mais il faut aduoüer, que ſi Dieu ne met fortement la main à tels ouurages, il n'y a rien à gaigner que des paroles, & des propositions qui ſ'en vont en fumée. Il ſ'en eſt trouué tel dans ces affemb[l]ées particulieres de Capitaines, qui [i]ettant ſa peau ou mante bas, venoit tout nud proche des [88] Peres, preſentant ſa teſte & tout ſon corps à baptiſer, mais c'eſtoient des faillies qui n'eſtoient pas de faiſon, dont le lendemain on ne voyoit ny fruit, ny fleur.

En fin tout bien conſideré, l'eſtenduë d'un mois, qui eſtoit le temps qu'on ſ'eſtoit propoſé, ſ'en allant eſcouler, on ſe reſolut de prendre ce qui ſembloit paroître de plus aſſeuré: & le fort tomba ſur quatre



approaches them, it is wise, even necessary, to have as much public preaching as possible; then if, while continuing the work, disorder and insolence occur, we content ourselves with visits in the cabins, and with the aforesaid special meetings,—[87] only now and then renewing our public utterance, in the proclamation of the Gospel, that at least it may serve to justify some day the goodness and mercy of God toward these peoples.

It was thought also that special assemblies of Captains and the elders of the village might be highly profitable. Judging rightly that this could not be hoped for except through some temporal attraction, the Father felt obliged to throw, each time, some cakes of tobacco into the midst of the assembly, which were immediately cut into pieces, and distributed by the principal Captains, or by their order. This succeeded as it was intended. It was in these assemblies that the Christian of la Conception, Joseph Chewatenhwa, was sometimes present, where he did wonders in praising and explaining our mysteries.

But it must be confessed that if God does not put his hand powerfully to such works, there is nothing to be gained but words and propositions that go up in smoke. There was a certain man in these special assemblies of Captains, who, casting down his skin or mantle, came up to the Fathers entirely naked, [88] presenting his head and his whole body to be baptized; but these were shoots that were out of season, of which neither flower nor fruit could be seen the next day.

Finally, having taken everything into consideration,—the period of a month, the time they had planned, having elapsed,—it was decided to receive

chefs de famille, qui furent baptifez folemnellement : dont l'un estoit nostre Hôte. Ce qui donna beaucoup de cōfolation aux Peres, & deux autres Capitaines du bourg; dont l'un semble estre plus du nombre de ceux pour lesquels les Anges viendroient du Ciel au defaut des hommes, pluoftost que Dieu manquaſt à leur pourvoir des moyens de ſe ſauuer, tant ce bon homme & toute ſa famille ſe ſont trouuez raiſonnables, & exacts obſeruateurs de la loy de Nature. Leurs femmes toutefois & leurs enfans ne furent point baptifez, la crainte & la frayeur reſtant encore trop grande dans ce bourg, auſſi bien que dans le reſte du pays, que le baptême faiſoit mourir, ou rendoit ceux qui le receuoient ſuiets à mille maux & miſeres. En quoy eſt de plus conſiderable la reſolution [89] de ces pauures Neophytes, dont quelques-vns ſe ſont portez au baptême, auſſi biẽ que pluſieurs autres aux autres êdroids, avec cette penſée. En deuſſe-ie mourir.

Ce fut le premier iour de l'an 1639. que ces baptêmes ſe firent, dont le lendemain qui estoit Dimanche, ces Neophytes s'eſtant trouuez enſemble pour la premiere fois à la Meſſe, au nombre de cinq ou ſix, on pourroit remarquer ce 2. iour de la preſente année, pour la premiere de la naiſſance de ceſte Eglife nouuelle, le nombre eſtât ſuffiſant pour porter le nom d'aſſemblée ou Congregation. Quelques iours apres on en baptiſa quelques autres, & en fuite encore d'autres en diuerſes occaſions & viſites qui ont eſté faites depuis en ce bourg : de forte que de preſent le nombre des Chreſtiens qui y monte à vne vingtaine, quelqu'autre perſonnes, ſoit enfans ou plus aagées, y ont eſté baptifées en extremité de maladie ou miſere,

those who apparently manifested the most stability; and the lot fell upon four heads of families, who were solemnly baptized,—one of these being our Host, which gave great consolation to the Fathers, and two others, Captains of the village, one of whom seems to be more of the number of those for whose sake Angels would come down from Heaven in default of men, rather than that God should fail to provide them with a means of escape, so reasonable and exact observers of the law of Nature are this good man and all his family. Their wives and children, however, were not baptized,—the fear and terror still remaining too strong in this village as well as in the rest of the country, that baptism causes death, or renders those who receive it liable to a thousand evils and miseries. In view of this, is most important the resolution [89] of these poor Neophytes, several of whom, as well as many others in other places, have resorted to baptism with this thought, “[I will receive it,] even if I must die for it.”

It was on the first day of the year 1639 that these baptisms were administered. On the following day, which was Sunday, these Neophytes being present together for the first time at Mass, to the number of five or six, we could note this 2nd day of the present year as the first of the birth of this new Church, the number being sufficient to bear the name of assembly or Congregation. Some days later, a few others were baptized, and thereafter others besides, on different occasions, and on visits which were afterwards made in this village, so that at present the number of Christians amounts to about twenty. A few more, either children or elderly persons, were baptized in the extremity of sickness or misery, as,

comme entr'autres vn pauvre prifonnier Hiroquois, qui y fut amené pendant que les Peres y estoient pour la premiere fois. Ce pauvre mal heureux ayant duré 24 heures apres son baptême, on aprit qu'en fa derniere & funeste nuit il auoit fait effort, pour [90] s'estouffer de luy-mefme. Cela obligea de l'aller trouuer, vn peu deuant qu'on exerçast fur luy les dernieres cruantez, & luy faire recognoître fa faute, le porter à s'en accufer, & en demander pardon; ce qu'ayant fait, on luy donna l'abfolution, & deux heures apres il boüilloit dans vne chaudiere, dont ceux de la cabane des Peres furent inuitez de venir prendre leur part.

Voila la principale Miffion de cette année. C'estoit bien le deffein d'en faire au moins vne ou deux autres femblables pendant le refte de l'hyuer, qui eft le feul temps qu'on peut iouir des Sauuages: qui en toute autre faifon font en guerre ou en traite. Mais s'eftant trouué plus de peine & de foin à nourrir & eleuer les enfans fpirituels de ces trois nouuelles Eglifes, qu'on n'auoit eu à leur donner la vie de la grace, & beaucoup plus d'affaire à l'affermiffement qu'à l'eftabliffement de ces Ourages, il a fallu vacquer au plus preffé. On n'a pas laiffé de faire quelques courfes en diuers endroits de moins de durée, qui ont eu de bons effets. En voicy quelques exemples.

Le 30. de Decembre [*sc.* Nouembre] iour de faint André, [91] vn de nos Peres eftant allé au Bourg de Tahententaron, que nous auons furnommé de faint Ignace, efloigné d'environ 2 lieuës de celui de la Residence de faint Iofeph, il y baptiza vn ieune enfant fort malade, & vn vieillard d'environ quatre-vingts ans, qui n'auoit autre maladie que celle de fa vieil-

among others, a poor Hiroquois prisoner, who was taken thither while the Fathers were there for the first time. This poor unfortunate having held out 24 hours after his baptism, it was learned that during his last and fatal night he had made an effort to [90] choke himself. This obliged them to go and visit him a little while before the final cruelties were exercised upon him, to make him acknowledge his fault, to lead him to accuse himself thereof, and ask pardon for it. Having done this, he was granted absolution; and two hours later he was boiling in a kettle, of which the inmates of the Fathers' cabin were invited to come and take their share.

That is the principal Mission of this year. It was, indeed, the intention to form at least one or two other similar ones during the remainder of the winter, which is the only time when one can hold the Savages, who, in all other seasons, are engaged in war or in trade. But having found more trouble and anxiety in nourishing and rearing the spiritual children of these three new Churches than it had been to give them the life of grace, and much more to do in strengthening than in establishing these Works, it has been necessary to devote ourselves most closely to them. We have not omitted to make some shorter visits to various places, which have had some good results. Of these, I will give some examples.

On the 30th of November, saint Andrew's day, [91] one of our Fathers having gone to the Village of Tahententaron,<sup>5</sup>—which we have surnamed saint Ignace, distant about 2 leagues from that of the Residence of saint Joseph,—he there baptized a young child who was very sick, and an old man aged about eighty years, who had no other ailment except

leffe; mais au reste se trouuoit tout disposé à escouter. Et en fuite donna à entendre qu'il croyoit, & estoit tout resolu de faire ce qu'il falloit pour estre sauué. Le Pere sentit de l'inclination à ne point differer plus long-temps à le metre en estat de ce faire, & là-dessus le baptize.

Deux iours apres, iour de feste de S. François Xavier, la nouuelle estant venuë affeurée de l'arriuée d'un prisonnier de guerre, Hiroquois de nation, au fufdit bourg, qu'on y auoit amené des dernieres bourgades du païs, pour le donner à quelque parent de ceux qui auoient esté pris autrefois par les Ennemis. Le mesme Pere qui y auoit esté deux iours auparauant, fut deputé avec un autre, pour aller promptement à la despoüille de ce pauvre mal-heureux; & traualier pour leur part au gain de son Ame. Comme ils approchent du [92] bourg, ils aperçoient vne fosse que l'on faisoit; ils demandent pour qui? on respond que c'est pour un tel vieillard mort le iour precedent, & c'estoit iustement celui qu'on auoit baptisé, qui estoit mort le lendemain de son Baptême. Ils s'enquestent des nouuelles de l'enfant qui fut baptisé en mesme temps; & ils apprirent qu'il se portoit mieux. Passant plus auant, ils arriuerent à la cabane où estoit ce pauvre prisonnier. C'estoit un ieune homme de 22 ans d'aussi bonne grace, & aussi bien fait qu'on en puisse rencontrer, qui ne sembloit auoir rien de barbare, que la misere & la condition où il estoit. Il portoit deux mains toutes faigneuses des doigts qu'en riant & par plaisir on luy auoit coupez par auance du traitement qu'on s'attendoit de luy faire la nuit suiuite.

Ce pauvre ieune homme, aux premieres paroles que

that of his old age, and, moreover, proved to be very willing to listen; he afterwards gave us to understand that he believed and had firmly resolved to do what was necessary to be saved. The Father felt inclined no longer to defer enabling him to do this, and there-upon baptized him.

Two days later, the day of the feast of St. François Xavier, authentic news was brought of the arrival of a prisoner of war, a Hiroquois by nation, to that village, who had been brought thither from the frontier villages of the country, that he might be given to some relative of those who had been formerly captured by the Enemies. The same Father who had been there two days before was appointed, with another, to go promptly to the execution of this poor wretch, and to labor, on their part, for the welfare of his Soul. As they approached the [92] village, they perceived that a grave was being made; they asked for whom, and were told that it was for a certain old man who had died the day before, and it was the very one who had been baptized, who had died the day after his Baptism. They inquired for news of the child that had been baptized at the same time, and were told that it was better. Passing farther on, they arrived at the cabin where this poor prisoner was. He was a young man of 22 years, as graceful and well-made a savage as one could meet, seeming to have nothing of the barbarian about him except the wretched condition in which he was. Both of his hands were all covered with blood, because, as a jest and for diversion, two of his fingers had been cut off, in anticipation of the treatment that his captors expected to give him the next night.

This poor young man, at the first words our Fa-

luy dirent nos Peres, parut si abatu de la douleur qu'il souffroit, & de son mal-heur, que l'on douta si on en pouvoit esperer beaucoup de contentement, on s'aduisa de tirer quelque image de N. Seigneur. A cette veuë l'esprit de ce ieune homme se refueille; il escoute ce qu'on luy dit. Et pour le faire court, il donne toute [93] la satisfaction necessaire pour ce qu'on pretendoit; voire mesme se met à chanter son acte de contrition, tesmoignant beaucoup de contentement & de consolation, il fut donc baptisé.

Mais voicy où parut particulièrement adorable la Prouidence diuine sur ce pauvre infortuné: car les affaires ne s'estant pas trouuées telles qu'il falloit pour le laisser à la disposition de ceux de ce bourg, on prit resolution de le remener d'où il estoit party, pour aduiser de rechef à ce qu'on en feroit. Mais y estant vne fois arriué, il n'en fortit plus, & passa là par les cruautéz ordinaires aux Barbares de ces côtrées: comme s'il n'y pouvoit mourir, qu' auparauant il n'eust esté bapti[z]é, & comme s'il n'y auoit autre affaire pour luy en nos quartiers, que d'y rêcontrer cette heureuse fortune, par laquelle il se trouua en estat d'eschanger son extreme misere en vne felicité Eternelle.

Au commencement du Printemps, les Chrestiens des Bourgs où nous auons des Residences, & qui font les 2. principales Eglises ou assemblées, s'estans diffipez, & allez qui deçà qui delà, les vns en traite, les autres à la pesche, d'autres principalement [94] à la guerre: les ouuriers de l'Euangile se trouuerent avec vn peu de relasche. Apres auoir donc vn peu respiré des trauaux passez, & s'estre rafraischis spirituellement, on en a appliqué ce qu'on a peu aux Missions,



thers said to him, appeared so depressed by the pain he was suffering, and by his misfortune, that they doubted whether they could look for much satisfaction from him. They bethought themselves to take out a picture of Our Lord; at this sight the young man's interest was aroused; he listened to what was said to him, and, to be brief, he gave all [93] the satisfaction necessary for their purpose—even beginning to chant his act of contrition, and evincing much satisfaction and consolation; he was, therefore, baptized.

But behold where divine Providence appeared especially adorable toward this poor unfortunate. For, since affairs were not found to be in the condition necessary to leave him at the disposition of the people of this village, it was decided to take him back to the place whence he had come, to consider again what should be done with him. But, having once reached that place, he did not leave it again, and there passed through the cruelties common to the Barbarians of these countries,—as if he could not die until he had been baptized, and as if he had no other business in our quarters than to meet there this blessed fate, by which he was enabled to exchange his extreme misery for Eternal happiness.

Early in the Spring, the Christians of the Villages where we have Residences, and which form the 2 principal Churches or assemblies, having dispersed here and there,—some to engage in trading, others in fishing, others principally [94] in war,—the Gospel laborers obtained a little relaxation. After having breathed a little, then, from our past labors, and become spiritually refreshed, we applied ourselves as well as we could to the Missions, and to visiting

& aux visites des bourgs & bourgades du païs, avec deffein de ne laiffer pas vne cabane de Sauvages, dans laquelle on ne se presente, & qu'on n'y parle & agisse autant qu'il faut, pour seruir aux desseins de Dieu sur ses Esleus. Pour ce fuiet, quatre Peres ont esté destineez, deux d'un costé, & deux de l'autre, qui apres auoir parcouru leur quartier, retournent sur leurs pas pour arrouser ce qu'ils ont semé. Leur soin principal est d'auoir l'œil aux enfans, vieillards & malades, sans negliger l'instruction des autres. Nous auons tous fuiet de croire que Dieu reçoit beaucoup de contentement de cét exercice: & nos consciences se trouuent en fin par là en repos, & en assurance, que rien n'est oublié, de ce qui peut estre fait maintenant pour sa gloire & pour son seruice en ces contrées. Ces Missions depuis Pasques iusques à l'Ascension, nous ont donné 28 baptizez, dont plusieurs sont allez au Ciel, comme nous le presumons de la [95] bonté & misericorde de Dieu. Mais ie n'estime pas moins l'impression & la disposition qu'on a laissé dans les esprits & les cœurs de tous ceux du pays, ce qui en son temps, comme nous espérons, seruira aux desseins de la Prouidence diuine, & nous donnera des fruiets lors que nous y penserons le moins

Entr'autres baptizez par les Perez destinez aux Missions, ont esté onze prisonniers de guerre, de douze qui furent amenez au pays sur la fin du mois de May de cette presente année. Ce ne fut pas sans peine & trauail qu'ils vindrent à bout d'une telle entreprise, pour les difficultez qui se rencontrent aux baptêmes de telles personnes, comme nous auons plus amplement déclaré au chap. 5. mais il faut aduouër qu'il n'y a rien que la charité ne surmonte.

the villages of the country, large and small, intending not to leave a cabin of the Savages in which we did not present ourselves, and say and do whatever was necessary to carry out God's plans for his Elect. For this object, four Fathers were appointed,—two to go in one direction, two in another,—who, after having traveled over their districts, retrace their steps to water what they have sown. Their chief care is to have their eyes upon the children, the old, and the sick, without neglecting the instruction of the others. We have every reason to believe that God has received much satisfaction from this practice; and our consciences are, in short, thereby at peace, and assured that nothing is neglected that can now be done for his glory and for his service in these countries. These Missions, from Easter until Ascension day, have given us 28 baptized, of whom several have gone to Heaven, as we judge from the [95] goodness and mercy of God. But I do not less value the impression and disposition that have been left in the minds and hearts of all those of the country,—which in due time, as we hope, will subserve the designs of divine Providence and will give us fruits when we shall least expect them.

Among others baptized by the Fathers appointed to the Missions, were eleven prisoners of war, out of twelve that were brought into the country toward the end of the month of May of this present year. It was not without difficulty and hard work that they succeeded in this undertaking, on account of the hindrances that are encountered in the baptisms of such persons, as we have more fully stated in chapter 5; but it must be acknowledged that there is nothing that charity will not conquer.

Il femble que Dieu nous voulut confirmer en ce rencontre dans la penſee que l'experience nous auoit defia fait auoir d'autres occaſions ſemblables. Que les baptêmes de telles perſonnes n'eſtoient pas fans vne ſpeciale diſpoſition de ſa bonté & miſericorde, ſur ces pauvres mal heureux, & fans que luy-meſme y mit la main, [96] celui ſeul des douze qui ne fut pas baptisé, ne fut pas celui qui y euſt moins de vocation & d'atrait. On trouua moins de reſiſtance à l'aborder de la part des Sauuages qui le gardoient, qu'on n'auoit faiât aux autres: On euſt le moyen de luy rendre plus de teſmoignages de bõne volenté & affection, & cependant il ne fut iamais poſſible d'obtenir de ce mal-heureux aucun agreement de ce qui luy eſtoit dit & repreſenté. On l'attaque par trois diuers iours, & le ſuit-on la part où on le menoit, on ne peult iamais rien gagner ſur cet eſprit, voire meſme empeſcha-il pour vn temps qu'un ſien compagnon ne ſe fit baptiſer, qui d'ailleurs teſmoignoit autant d'inclination & de pieuſe affection à eſtre inſtruit, que ce mal heureux en auoit d'auerſion: mais vne fois ayant eſté trouué ſeparez, on accomplit enuers ce 2. ce dont la compagnie de l'autre l'auoit deſtourné, l'ayant rencontré en auſſi bonne diſpoſition qu'auparauant.

Dés 12. il y en euſt deux qui furent deſtinez pour ce bourg d'où i'eſcris, & abandonnez à l'ordinaire, par ceux qui en eſtoient les maiſtres, aux cruauſtez ordinaires du pays. Tous deux eſtoient du [97] nombre des baptizez: dont l'un particulierement fit paroître vne conſtance dans ſes tourmens, au delà non ſeulement de ce que iamais on n'a veu, mais peut-eſtre au delà de ce qu'on euſt peu s'imaginer ſi on ne l'euſt veu. L'eſpace des deux premieres heures de

It seems as if, in this occurrence, God intends to confirm us in the thought that experience had already suggested to us on other similar occasions,—that the baptisms of such persons were not without a special arrangement of his goodness and mercy toward those poor unfortunates, and without himself putting his hand thereto. [96] The only one of the twelve who did not receive baptism was not the one who had the fewest calls and inducements to do so. Less resistance in approaching him was met from the Savages who were guarding him, than would have been made in the case of the others, and opportunity was found to show him more evidences of good will and affection; yet it was never possible to obtain from this poor wretch any acceptance of what was said and represented to him. They accosted him on three different days, and followed him to the place whither he was taken, but nothing could ever be gained from this man. He even prevented, for a time, one of his companions from being baptized, who otherwise showed as much inclination and pious desire to be instructed as this wretch had felt aversion to it. But happening once to be apart, we accomplished for this 2nd man what the companionship of the other had diverted him from, having found him as favorably inclined as before.

Of the 12, two were assigned to this village whence I am writing, and abandoned, as usual, by those who were their masters, to the customary cruelties of the country. Both were of the [97] number of the baptized; one of them, especially, showed a constancy in his torments beyond not only anything that one had ever seen, but perhaps beyond what one could have imagined if one had not seen it. During the

la nuit qu'il fut tourmenté de toutes les façons, avec tisons ardens, haches brulantes, & autres ferremens tout en feu qu'on luy appliquoit par tout, il ne branla ny remua non plus que s'il eust esté de marbre. Il ne se plaignit iamais, ny ne ietta aucun cry, non pas mesme vn soufpir qui tesmoignast de la douleur : ce qui mettoit en furie ceux qui le tourmentoient, qui impudent à grand mal-heur quand ils font rencontre d'une telle constance, ils eurent beau faire, ils se lasserent plustost de le tourmenter, que luy de souffrir ; luy-mesme s'arrestoit & se presentoit à ceux qui plus le vouloient tourmenter : & tandis qu'ils le faisoient il s'entretenoit aussi froidement avec tous ceux qui le vouloient questionner, de mesme que si c'eust esté vn autre qu'on eust tourmenté : & au défaut d'entretien il ne cessoit de chanter, & fouuent repetoit dans sa chanfon Aronhiac Eskenonteta, ie m'en vay donc au Ciel : [98] Quoy qu'il n'y eust pas vn des nostre presens pour le faire reffouuenir de son bon-heur. Lors qu'on l'aborda pour l'instruire la premiere fois, vous eussiez dit qu'on luy eust porté vne nouvelle qu'il y a trente ans qu'il attendoit, & à laquelle de longue main il s'estoit préparé, tant il agrea & conceut tout d'un coup le poinct de l'affaire. Toutes ces rencontres nous font toucher au doigt les secrets adorables de la predestination de Dieu sur ses Esleus. En fin le matin venu, nos Barbares le firent mourir promptement, voyans que la prolongation de ses tourmens estoit celle de leur confusion, & qu'ils ne perdoient que leur peine sans en retirer ny donner au public aucun plaisir, qui consiste sur tout à entendre crier ces pauvres victimes de leur fureur. Vn entr'autres qui pendant son instruction n'y auoit pareillement

first two hours of the night, while he was tormented in every way,—with burning brands, glowing hatchets, and other iron tools, red-hot, that were applied to every part of his body,—he did not tremble or flinch any more than if he had been of marble. He never complained or cried out, or even sighed, as an indication of his suffering,—which threw into a fury those who tormented him, who count it a great misfortune when they encounter such steadfastness. They strove in vain,—they sooner became weary of tormenting him than he of suffering; he himself stood still, and offered himself to those who most desired to torment him; and, while they did this, he conversed as coolly with all those who chose to question him as if it were some one else that was being tortured. And, when he was not talking, he never ceased to sing, often repeating in his song, “Aronhiac Eskenonteta,” “I am going away to Heaven, then,”—[98] although there was not one of ours present to remind him of his good fortune. When they first accosted him to give him instruction, you would have said that they brought him tidings for which he had been waiting thirty years, and for which he was long since prepared, so readily did he accept and grasp all at once the essential points. All these occurrences make us see close at hand the adorable secrets of God's predestination concerning his Elect. Finally, when morning came, our Barbarians quickly put him to death, seeing that the prolongation of his tortures was that of their own confusion, and that their exertions were only thrown away, without obtaining therefrom, or giving to the public, any pleasure, which consists above all in hearing these poor victims of their fury shriek. One, among others,

donné beaucoup de contentement ayant esté donné à quelques peuples esloignez; ceux-cy par ie ne fçay quelle consideration se resoluënt de luy donner la vie, & de le remener à son païs; mais lors qu'on fut sur le poinct de l'y conduire, comme si son baptême ne luy eut deu de rien seruir s'il sortoit de ces contrées, il tomba dans vne [99] maladie, qui luy apportant la mort luy donna la vie, & fust l'accomplissement de sa predestination.

Ie ne fçay si ce que nos Sauuages apprehendent de mal-heur du presage de constance de leurs prisonniers leur arriuera: Ie prie Dieu qu'il le destourne de dessus leurs testes: mais ie fçay bien qu'ils ont tout fuiet d'ailleurs de l'apprehender. Ces 12. prisonniers sont les premices d'une guerre qu'ils ont entrepris de nouveau cette année contre vn Peuple puissant, nommé Senontouerhonons, les plus proches de tous leurs ennemis, avec qui depuis quelques années ils auoient la paix. Ils voyent bien que cela ne leur peut apporter que malheur: mais quelques-vns de leurs ieunes gens ayans recommencé l'année passée à tuer quelqu'un de cette Nation; le resouuenir & le repentiment de ceux de leurs parens, qui autrefois ont esté mal traittez par ces peuples, a fait refoudre tout le païs, à reprendre la guerre contr'eux, & les attaquer plustost qu'à reparer la faute.



who during his instruction, unlike this man, had not afforded much satisfaction, having been given to some remote tribes,—they, from I know not what motives, resolved to grant him his life, and to take him back to his own country. But when they were on the point of conducting him thither, as if his baptism would have availed him nothing if he left these countries, he perished in an [99] illness, which, in bringing him death, gave him life, and was the fulfillment of his predestination.

I do not know whether the misfortune our Savages apprehend, as presaged by the fortitude of their prisoners, will happen; I pray God that he may avert it from their heads,—but I know very well that they have every reason, on other accounts, to apprehend it. These 12 prisoners are the first fruits of the war that they have undertaken anew this year against a powerful Tribe, named Senontouerhonons, the nearest of all their enemies, with whom they were at peace for several years. They see clearly that this can only bring them misfortune; but, some of their young men having last year recommenced hostilities, by killing some member of that Nation, the bitter memories and the resentment of those of their kindred who were formerly badly treated by those tribes, have caused a determination throughout the country to resume war against them, and to attack them, rather than to make amends for the fault.

## [100] CHAP. VII.

DE DIUERSES TRAVERSES & DIFFICULTEZ QUI SE  
SONT RENCONTREES EN LA NAISSANCE DE CES NOU-  
UELLES EGLISES: & DE CELLES QUI SE PRE-  
SENTENT ENCORE TOUS LES IOURS  
EN LEUR ESTABLISSEMENT.

CONSIDERANT de prés auffi bien que de loing  
ce païs des Hurons, & autres peuples voisins,  
il m'a tousiours semblé vne des principales  
fortereffes, & comme vn donjon des Demons. Et en  
effect ie ne pense pas qu'il y ait perfonne qui ayant  
confidere ou veu les difficultez d'y aborder, & d'y sub-  
fifter; le fouuerain Empire, & le repos avec lequel  
les Demons y ont dominé depuis tant de fiecles, en  
fasse vn autre iugement.

La resolution des ouuriers de l'Euangile en ces der-  
nieres années, de les venir attaquer en vn tel Fort, &  
leur donner l'alarme, les auoir irrité iufques au point  
qu'on a bien veu: particulièrement ces deux dernieres  
années, qu'ils auoient coniuré leur [101] ruine.  
Mais comme ils ne peuuent pas tout ce qu'ils veulent,  
leurs efforts ont abouti, où depuis le commence-  
ment du monde ils font arriuez & arriueront à iamais;  
fçauoir à la plus grande gloire de Dieu, & à leur con-  
fufion, comme on a peu voir aux Chapitres precedés.  
Ce n'est pas toutefois l'humeur de ces esprits orgueil-  
leux de se rendre fi toft: tant plus leur confufion est  
grande, tant plus leur rage croift, qui leur fournit tous

## [100] CHAP. VII.

OF VARIOUS OBSTACLES AND DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN CONNECTION WITH THE BIRTH OF THESE NEW CHURCHES; AND OF THOSE THAT STILL APPEAR DAILY IN THEIR ESTABLISHMENT.

CONSIDERING from anear as well as from afar this country of the Hurons, and other neighboring peoples, it has always seemed to me one of the principal fortresses and, as it were, a donjon of the Demons. And, in fact, I do not think there is any person who—having considered or seen the difficulties of reaching it and of subsisting here, as well as the sovereign Power and the security with which the Demons have ruled here during so many centuries,—could form any other opinion of it.

The resolution of the Gospel workers in these latter years to come and attack them in such a Fort, and give them the alarm, has irritated them to the utmost, as we have plainly seen,—especially in these last two years, when they had plotted our [101] ruin. But as they cannot do all that they would, their efforts have resulted as they have since the beginning of the world, and as they always will result,—namely, in the greater glory of God, and in their own confusion, as may be seen in the preceding Chapters. It is not, however, the humor of these proud spirits to yield so soon; the greater their confusion, the more their rage increases, which daily furnishes them with new

les iours de nouuelles inuentions de trauerfer les affaires de Dieu; fur tout quand ils voyent qu'il s'agist de l'estenduë du Royaume de Iesus Christ, de luy former de nouuelles Espouses; en vn mot d'establir de nouuelles Eglises ou assemblées de Chrestiens, cela allant à la ruine fondamentale de leur Empire, & au renuerfement de leurs principales pretentions.

En effect, lors que i'arriuay icy sur la fin du mois d'Aoust, i'y trouuay les esprits des Sauvages en assez grand repos, & comme dans le regret & le repentir de ce qui s'estoit passé, s'estonnans de leur aueuglement & peu d'esprit d'auoir de tels ombrages, & de si mauuaises inclinations pour des personnes comme nous, [102] qui ne leur faisions que du bien. Mais apres le retour des traites, on n'eust pas plustost redoublé les bateries des Predications & instructions, tant generales que particulieres; & à trauailler tout de bon à l'establissement de l'ouurage que l'on pretendoit, que voila les langues qui se deslient plus que iamais: on renouuelle toutes les plaintes & les cris. Que depuis que nous estions au païs, & que nous y auions semé nostre doctrine, on n'y voyoit plus que mal heur & misere; on n'y voyoit plus de vieillards; que tout le païs s'en alloit en decadence & en ruine; qu'apres auoir fait mourir tous ceux du quartier ou nous nous estions mis d'abord, nous allions par tous les autres bourgs pour faire le mesme dégast; que si on n'arrestoit la cause de tous ces maux, bien-tost on verroit toute leur nation aneantie.

Ces discours ne se tenoient pas seulement dans le particulier & en cachette, mais aussi en public & dans nos cabanes mesmes, & aux assemblées de nos Catechismes. Il s'est trouué quelquefois qu'en mesme

devices for hindering the affairs of God,—above all, when they see that it is a question of extending the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, of creating new Brides for him, in a word, of establishing new Churches or assemblies of Christians, this tending to the fundamental ruin of their Empire, and to the overthrow of their principal claims.

In fact, when I arrived here toward the end of the month of August, I found the minds of the Savages quite tranquil, and, as it were, in a condition of regret and repentance for what had taken place, being astonished at their own blindness and lack of sense in holding such umbrage and so evil passions toward persons like us, [102] who had only done them good. But after their return from trading, no sooner had we redoubled our batteries of Sermons and instructions, general as well as individual, and labored in earnest for the establishment of our intended enterprise, than lo, tongues were more than ever loosened. All their complaints and clamors were renewed,—that since we were in the country, and had sown our doctrine there, one saw no longer aught but misfortune and misery, and no more old men were seen; that the whole country was going to decay and ruin; that, after having caused the death of all those in the quarter where we had first settled, we went through all the other villages to create the same havoc; that, if the cause of all these evils were not suppressed, they would soon see their entire nation annihilated.

These speeches were not made only in private and secretly, but also in public and even in our cabins, and in the meetings of our Catechumens. It happened sometimes that at the same time that a Father was going through the village to ring the bell, or to

temps qu'un Pere alloit par le bourg, sonner où faire la criée pour affembler le monde; au mesme temps quelque [103] Capitaine mal affectionné fortoit de la cabane, qui faisoit un cry contraire, disant qu'on se donnaist bien de garde d'y venir, que nous estions forciers, qui n'auions autre dessein que de les perdre & ruiner? qu'il falloit plustost songer à se défaire de nous, que de croire & faire ce que nous disions.

Ces mesmes discours se font faits pendant les Catechismes, ou ces organes du diable interrompoient le Catechiste, pour faire leur Presche, avec des blasphemés qui donnoient bien auant dans le cœur de nos Peres; mais qui pour cela ne leur ostoient pas la parole, pour respondre à ces fols, & les traiter comme il falloit; non pas toutefois tant selon leur merite, qu'avec la patience & la compassion avec laquelle il faut agir avec ces pauvres malheureux.

L'insolence de telles personnes d'autorité, augmente beaucoup la hardiesse des enfans & des personnes du commun, desquelles en fuite il n'a pas fallu peu souffrir. On a veu les plotes de neige, les bastons, les troignons de bled, & autres fatras, à faute de pierres, (qu'on ne trouue pas tousiours quand on veut en ce païs) voler sur les testes des Peres, pendant mesme [104] les Catechismes: & le long de la iournée, par les trous de la cabane qui seruent de fenestre & de cheminée. Pour ne point parler dauantage de plusieurs autres disgraces qui s'ensuiuent tous les iours, viuans parmy un peuple barbare, contre lequel nous n'auons ny ne pouuons auoir aucune defense.

Quelques-uns des plus aduisez entre les Capitaines & anciens, voyans bien que cela est contre les droicts de l'alliance dont ils font profession avec les François,

make the announcement for assembling the people, at this very time some [103] evil-minded Captain would come out from his cabin and declaim against this,—warning the people to beware of going there; that we were sorcerers, who had no other purpose than to undo and ruin them; that they ought rather to think of getting rid of us than to believe and do what we said.

These same speeches were made during the Catechisms, where these instruments of the devil interrupted the Catechist to preach their own Sermon, with blasphemies which sank deep into the hearts of our Fathers, but which, nevertheless, did not deprive them of speech to answer these fools, and treat them as they deserved,—not, however, so much according to their merit, as with the patience and compassion with which one should deal with these poor unfortunates.

The insolence of such persons of authority greatly increases the boldness of the children and common people, from whom, consequently, one has to suffer not a little. Snowballs, clubs, cornstalks, and other rubbish, for lack of stones (which are not always to be found in this country when they are wanted), have been seen flying over the Fathers' heads, even during [104] the Catechisms, and, in the course of the day, through the holes of the cabin which serve as window and chimney,—to say nothing of many other indignities that occur every day, living among a barbarous people, against whom we have, and can have, no defense.

Some of the more prudent among the Captains and old men, seeing clearly that this is contrary to the rights of the alliance that they profess with the

en font bien quelquefois des excuses, & tafchent d'y apporter quelque ordre: mais le tout fe fait fi froide-ment, & avec fi peu d'autorité, que cela fouuent augmête plus le mal, qu'il ne le guerit.

Toutes ces imaginations de ces pauvres Barbares, que nous fommes la ruine & la perte de leur païs, s'augmente autant de fois que quelque mal-heur leur arriue de nouveau, foit maladie, foit famine, laquelle regne maintenant en quelques endroits du païs, particulièrement au bourg de la Refidence de la Conception, nous imputans tous ces mal-heurs, comme fi nous en eftions la caufe, ou qu'y pouuans apporter remede, nous ne le vouluffions pas.

[105] Sur ce que nous leur predifons les Ecclypfes de la Lune & du Soleil, dont ils ont beaucoup de peur, ils fe font imaginez que nous en eftions les maiftres; que nous fçauions toutes les chofes à aduenir; & que c'eft nous qui en difpofons. Et en cefte cōfideration, ils s'adreffent à nous pour fçauoir fi leurs bleds reüffiront; où font leurs ennemis, & en quelle quantité ils viennent; ne fe pouuans perfuader qu'en toutes chofes nous n'en fçachions dauantage que leurs forciers, qui font profeffion de defcouvrir femblables fecrets. Et voicy ce qui les confirme encore dauantage dans leur imagination; car la couftume du païs eftant qu'aux neceffitez publiques on a recours aux Sorciers les plus fameux; ceux cy ne manquans pas de promettre merueilles, pourueu qu'on leur faffe des prefens; nous ne pouuons pas, en telles occafions nous taire: particulièrement depuis que nous auons des Chreftiens qui fe trouuent engagés & enue-loppez dans telles affaires, nous parlons donc & difons ce qu'il faut: Mais auffi toft à les entendre, nous voila



French, sometimes make excuses therefor, and try to bring about some order; but it is all done so coldly, and with so little authority, that it often augments more than it remedies the evil.

All these fancies of these poor Barbarians, that we are the ruin and the destruction of their country, increase whenever some new misfortune happens to them,—be it sickness, or famine, which is now prevalent in some parts of the country, especially in the village of the Residence of la Conception,—imputing to us all their afflictions, as if we were the cause thereof, or, being able to furnish some remedy for them, we would not do so.

[105] Because we predict to them the Eclipses of the Moon and Sun, which they greatly fear, they imagine that we are the masters of these, that we know all future events, and that it is we who order them. And with this idea, they address themselves to us to know if their crops will succeed; where their enemies are, and in what force they are coming,—being unable to persuade themselves that we are not wiser in all things than their sorcerers, who profess to discover such secrets. And what confirms them still more in their notion is that,—it being the custom of the country in public necessities to have recourse to the most famous Sorcerers, and these not hesitating to promise wonders, provided they are given presents,—we cannot, at such times, keep silent, especially since we have Christians who are found to be engaged and involved in such matters; we speak, therefore, and say what we ought. But forthwith, according to them, we are declared arraigned and convicted of that of which they accuse us,—of intending nothing else than the destruction

declarez atteints & conuaincus de ce dont on nous accuse. De ne pretendre autre chose que la perte & la [106] taine [*sc.* ruine] du monde, puisque nous ne les voulons pas deliurer de leurs miseres, ny leur permettre qu'ils se pouruoient des remedes ordinaires pratiquez dans leurs pays, de tout temps contre leurs mal heurs, particulièrement dans la creance qu'ils ont que c'est nous qui en sommes la cause. Et en fuite on ne menace de rien moins que de coups de hache, & de toute forte de massacre.

Ces discours se tiennent plus souuent que tous les iours, à l'occasion des afflictions particulieres, particulièrement de leurs maladies. Car comme ils n'ont point d'autres Medecins que Sorciers ou Magiciens, & que la plupart de leurs remedes consistent en des danfes, festins, ceremonies, & circonstances du tout diaboliques; nous ne pouuons pas ne leur declarer que tout cela ne vaut rien, & qu'ils iotent en fin à se perdre, & tout leur pays. Cela les met au desespoir; car d'un costé ils ne se peuuent refoudre de quitter ces remedes, qu'en quittant l'esperance de viure, qui est cependant leur souuerain bien: de l'autre ils voyent des personnes qui les menacent de la colere & de la Iustice de Dieu, s'ils continuent de s'en seruir. Il est croyable [107] que ce desespoir les portera vn iour à faire pis qu'ils n'ont encore fait par le passé, mais nous seruons vn maistre qui sçaura bien tirer sa gloire dequoy que ce soit qui puisse arriuer: Et on est bien resolu de faire voir que ceux qui le seruent ne craignēt rien sinon de luy desplaire.

Les Demons, pour souffler & eschauffer dauantage cette fournaise, semblent auoir acheminé quelques estrangers en ces contrées des derniers confins de la

and the [106] ruin of the world, since we will not deliver them from their troubles, nor permit them to provide themselves with the ordinary remedies employed in their country from all time against their misfortunes, especially when, in their belief, it is we who are the cause of these. And consequently, there are threats of nothing less than blows with the hatchet, and every kind of murder.

These speeches are made oftener than once a day, in times of special afflictions, particularly in their sicknesses. For—as there are no other Doctors than Sorcerers or Magicians, and as the greater part of their remedies consists of dances, feasts, ceremonies, and accompanying details altogether diabolical—we cannot refrain from telling them that all that avails nothing, and that they are, in the end, risking their own ruin and that of the whole country. This throws them into despair; for, on the one hand, they cannot resolve to abandon these remedies without giving up therein the hope of living, which is, however, their sovereign good; on the other, they see persons who threaten them with the anger and the Justice of God, if they continue to use them. It is probable [107] that this despair will some day prompt them to act worse than they have yet done in the past. But we serve a master who knows how to derive his own glory from every possible occurrence, and we are fully resolved to show that those who serve him fear nothing but his displeasure.

The Demons, to fan and heat this furnace more, seem to have despatched some strangers to these countries at the outer confines of the earth. These are barbarians of the countries near the Ocean, dealing with certain European Islanders who have settled

terre. Ce font barbares des pays voisins de l'Océan, qui ont habitude avec certains Européens Infulaires, qui se font habituez aux costes de la mer, tirant aux Midy; & qui sont personnes qui ont tousiours paru esgalement mal affectionnez à l'Eglise Romaine, & à ceux de nostre robe. Ces barbares estrangers, dis-je, se trou[u]ans en ces quartiers par ie ne sçay qu'elle rencontre, ont donné à entendre que ces Européens, dont nous venons de parler, ayans sceu que nous estions icy; leur auoient dit de nous, que nous estions gens à perdre & ruiner le monde! qu'il y en auoit comme nous en leur pays en Europe, mais qu'ils y estoient cachez sans oser se monstrier, & [108] qu'autant qu'on en attrappoit on les faisoit mourir.

Toutes ces rencontres ont tellement confirmé ces pauvres gens en leur imagination, qu'aux premieres prises que nous auons avec eux à l'occasion de leurs insolences, c'est aussi tost à tomber sur ces reproches, & à prier qu'on ne les fasse pas languir, mais qu'on les depefche promptement comme on fait les autres. Il s'est trouué des proches parens, cōme neueux, qui à la mort de leurs oncles ont fait tout leur possible pour leur faire dire que c'estoit no<sup>9</sup> qui les faisois, mourir, afin d'auoir fondement de descharger leur resentment sur nous, & se consoler de la mort des personnes qu'ils cherissoient tendrement, par le massacre de ceux qui en auroient esté declarez la cause, par la bouche des defuncts. Mais Dieu n'a pas permis que ceux qui, peut-estre, pendant leur vie l'auoient dit plusieurs fois en general, le confirmaient pour leur regard à la mort, mais plustost ont tesmoigné tout le contraire.

Nonobstant tout ce que dessus, c'est vn plaisir de

on the seacoast towards the South, and are persons that have always seemed alike hostile to the Roman Church and to those of our robe. These outlying barbarians, I say, finding themselves in these quarters through I know not what chance, have stated that these Europeans of whom we have just spoken, having learned that we were here, told them that we were associated to destroy and ruin the world!—that there were some like us in their own country in Europe, but concealed there without daring to show themselves; and [108] that, as soon as any of them were caught, they were put to death.

All these incidents have so confirmed these poor people in their ideas that, at the first disputes we have with them on account of their insolent acts, we immediately stumble upon these reproaches, and are entreated not to make them linger, but to despatch them promptly, as we have the others. There have been near relatives, such as nephews, who at the death of their uncles did all they could to make them say that it was we who made them die, in order to have an excuse to vent their resentment upon us, and to solace themselves for the death of persons whom they tenderly cherished, by the massacre of those who would have been declared, by the lips of the deceased, the cause thereof. But God did not permit that those who, perhaps, during their lifetime had often said so in a general way, should confirm it for their sake at death, but rather that they should testify quite the contrary.

Notwithstanding all the above, it is interesting to reflect upon what takes place during the course of a week. For, bringing together the various opinions that we have encountered [109] in discoursing with

faire reflexion fur ce qui se paffe le long d'une semaine: car ramaffant enfemble les diuers fentimens qu'on a reconneu, [109] traictant avec les Sauvages qu'on a vifité: vous y voyez ce femble clairement l'efprit de Dieu & du diable fe combattans dans leur efprit & dans leur cœur. On voit vn iour tout le monde qui fe tuë de dire qu'il croid, & qu'il veut eftre baptizé: vn autre iour tout fe trouue renuersé & defefperé. Ce contrafte eft vn figne manifefte de combat & de bataille: mais il faut aduoier que nous ne voyons pas encore de quel cofté panche l'entiere victoire. Et fi nous n'auions autre principe pour nous conduire dans nos eſperances, que ce qui paroift aux yeux, nous aurions fujet de penfer que l'affaire eft encore fort eſloignée, mais comme il n'y a rien d'impoſſible à Dieu, & que ſa benediction depend fouuent de certains temps & moments, & de certains reſſorts qui nous ſont inconneus, il nous faut attendre avec patience & courage tout ce qu'il luy plaift en ordonner.

L'excellence eft, que les plus ſpirituels entre ces pauures Barbares ne pouuans comprendre le ſuiet & le motif qui nous a fait quitter la France, & venir de ſi loing avec tant de peine & de trauail, ne nous voyans pretendre aucun profit ny aduantage [110] de noſtre demeure parmy eux, ny des biens que nous leurs faiſons continuellement; ils concluent, qu'il faut donc que nous pretendions leur ruine; puisque nous ne pouuons pas ne pretendre quelque choſe de grand dans vne telle reſolution.

On a beau leur dire que c'eſt pour leur annoncer les biens & les richeſſes de l'autre vie, ils n'y conçoient rien: n'apprehendans autres biens que ceux

the Savages whom we have visited, you see therein clearly, it would seem, the spirit of God and of the devil struggling in their minds and hearts. One day, you see them all killing themselves to say that they believe, and that they wish to be baptized; another day, everything is overthrown and hopeless. This contrast is a manifest sign of combat and battle; but it must be confessed that we do not yet see to which side the complete victory leans, and if we had no other principle to guide us in our hopes than what appears to our eyes, we would have reason to think that the end is still very far away; but, as there is nothing impossible to God, and as his blessing often depends upon certain times and moments, and certain resources that are unknown to us, we must await with patience and courage all that it may please him to ordain.

The climax of it is, that the most intelligent among these poor Barbarians, not being able to comprehend the object and motive that have caused us to leave France and come so far, with so much difficulty and labor, and not seeing us claim any profit or advantage [110] from our residence among them, nor from the kindnesses that we are continually rendering to them, conclude that we must, therefore, desire their ruin, since we can only aim at some object of great importance in such a resolution.

It is useless to tell them that this is to announce to them the blessings and riches of the other life; they have no conception of these, realizing no other good things than those they see with their eyes. And as we are obliged to tell them that the blessings we preach to them are seen only after death, those speeches into which death enters confirm them more

qu'ils voyêt de leurs yeux. Et comme on est contraint de leur dire que les biens que nous leur prefchõs ne se voyent qu'après la mort; ces discours où la mort entre, les confirment plus que iamais dans leur imagination que nous les faisons mourir. De forte que les plus moderez, & mesmes quelques-vns de nos pauvres Chrestiens, pensent tout simplement qu'il en est ainsi: mais que ce que nous en faisons, c'est par amour & affection que nous auons de leur faire voir Dieu au plustost, & de les rendre ioüyffans de ces biens dont nous faisons tant d'estat. Mais là deffus ces pauvres gens se trouuent bien empeschez. Les vns disent qu'ils ne voyent pas comment ayans de si mauuaifes iambes ils pourront faire vn si [III] grand voyage, & arriuer iusques au Ciel. D'autres tefmoignent auoir desia peur, & craindre de cheoir de si haut: ne pouuans pas aprehender cõment ils se pourront tenir la long-temps sans tomber. Vous en trouuerez qui sont en peine s'il y aura du petun, disant qu'ils ne s'en peuuent passer. Bref ce sont des foibleffes inimaginables, qu'à ceux qui les voyent. Or apres tout, ce sont creatures raisonnables, capables du Paradis & de l'Enfer, racheptez du sang de IESVS-CHRIST, desquelles il est escrit: *Et alias oues habeo quæ non sunt ex hoc ouili, & illas oportet me adducere.* Et pour cét effect il les enuoye chercher dans les buiffons, & par tout.

Les orages dont nous venons de parler estoient à la verité considerables, & de cõsequence, puis qu'ils alloient à la ruïne ou à l'esloignement des vniques ouuriers de cette vigne. Ce ne sont pas toutesfois ces rencontres qui nous ont donné plus de peine & de foucy: mais bien dauantage, les tempestes & les ten-



than ever in their notion that we make them die — so that the most moderate, and even some of our poor Christians, quite artlessly think that it is so in their case, but that what we accomplish upon them is through love, and through our desire to reveal God to them the sooner, and to give them the enjoyment of those blessings that we value so highly. But these poor creatures find themselves greatly perplexed thereat; some say that they do not see how, as they have so weak legs, they can make so [111] long a journey and reach Heaven. Others assert that they are already afraid, and dread lest they may fall from so great a height, not being able to understand how they can remain there long without falling. You will find some of them anxious to know if there will be tobacco there, saying that they cannot dispense with it. In short, there are weaknesses unimaginable except to those who see them. But, after all, these are rational creatures, capable of Paradise and of Hell, redeemed by the blood of JESUS CHRIST, and of whom it is written, *Et alias oves habeo quæ non sunt ex hoc ovili, et illas oportet me adducere*. And for this reason he sends to seek them in the hedges, and everywhere.

The storms of which we have just spoken were, in truth, serious and of consequence, since they tended toward the ruin or banishment of the sole laborers in this vineyard. It was not those incidents, however, that gave us the most trouble and anxiety, but far more, the tempests and temptations that our Neophytes have encountered since their baptism and the birth of these new Churches, of which we have spoken in the preceding Chapters,—considering the tenderness of these young plants [112] and the little founda-

tations furuenuës à nos Neophytes depuis leur baptême, & la naissance de ces nouvelles Eglises, dont nous auons parlé dans les Chapitres precedens. Veu la tendresse de ces ieunes plantes, [112] & le peu de fond qui se trouue dans le naturel & le genie des Barbares, pour aider la femence de l'Euangile à y ietter de grandes & profondes racines.

Si vn pauvre Barbare se fait Chrestien, auffi-tost il est accueilly de tous ceux de sa cognoissance, qui le lamentent & le déplorent comme s'il estoit desia perdu, & que ce fust fait de luy. Les vns l'affeurent, si c'est l'hyuer, qu'au Printemps (s'il est encore en vie) tous les cheueux luy tomberont. Les autres, qu'il ne faut plus qu'il fasse estat d'aller à la chasse, en traite, ou à la guerre, deuant estre affeuré, que par tout dorénuant il fera mal-heureux. On donne l'apprehension aux femmes qu'elles ne porteront plus d'enfans, bref on les menace tous, ou plustost on les affeure que ce qu'ils craignent le plus au monde, ne manquera pas de leur arriuer.

On leur represente en outre, que les voila dorenuant frustrez de festins, & par consequent de l'vnique douceur ou beatitude du pays. Qu'il faut necessairement en fuite qu'ils renoncent à tous les droicts & entretiens de l'amitié enuers leurs proches & compatriotes. Et si ce font Capitaines qui ayent charge de faire les [113] criées, & les ceremonies, qu'ils fassent estat de se voir despoüillez de leur credit & autorité.

Et voila la plus forte batterie, & qui en effet en empesche le plus, & en a le plus esbranlé du nombre de ces pauvres Neophytes. Car en effet, la pluspart de leurs danfes, festins, Medecins & medecines, ceremonies & coustumes estant ou manifestement diabo-

tion there is in the nature and spirit of the Barbarians to help the seed of the Gospel throw out therein strong and deep roots.

If a poor Barbarian become a Christian, he is immediately assailed by all those of his acquaintance, who lament and deplore him as if he were already lost, and it were all over with him. Some assure him, if it be winter time, that in the Spring (if he is still living) all his hair will fall off; others, that he need no longer count upon going hunting, trading, or to war, except with the certainty that thenceforth he will be unlucky in everything; they inspire in the women the fear that they will bear no more children. In short, they are all threatened, or rather assured, that what they fear the most in the world will surely happen to them.

It is represented, besides, that thenceforth they will be defrauded of feasts, and consequently of the sole delight or bliss of the country; that, as a necessary result, they must renounce all the rights and intercourse of friendship with their kinsmen and compatriots. And if they be Captains who have charge of making the [113] announcements and managing ceremonials, they are told that they may count upon seeing themselves despoiled of their influence and authority.

And in this behold the strongest battery, and that which, in reality, has most hindered and most disquieted the majority of these poor Neophytes. For, indeed, the greater part of their dances, feasts, Physicians, and medicines, ceremonies, and customs, being either manifestly diabolical, or filled with so many senseless ceremonies that it is almost impossible to judge or interpret them as being free from supersti-

liques, ou remplies de tant de ceremonies impertinentes, qu'il est presque impossible de les iuger ou interpreter exemptes de superstition, ou pact & communication tacite avec le diable; on est contraint de tenir tout pour suspect, & d'en donner le scrupule à nos Catechumenes & Neophytes. Arriuant donc, ce qui arriue tous les iours, que quelqu'un de la famille, par exemple, tombe malade: voila aussi-tost le pauvre Catechumene ou Neophyte pouruiuy de toute la parenté, à ce qu'il ait à faire venir le Medecin, c'est à dire le visiteur ou Sorcier, & faire mettre en execution les remedes ordinaires du païs, qui sont les ordonnances du Sorcier, lequel on n'agit que dependement de la cognoissance que luy donne le diable, de la nature de la maladie, & des remedes [114] qu'il y faut apporter; on ordonne des choses qui ne sont qu'abomination ou diableries. Que fera en ces rencontres un pauvre Neophyte? S'il le fait, il renonce publiquement à sa profession; s'il ne le fait, le voila dans la haine & l'abandonnement des siens, qui luy reprochent, qu'à son tour on l'affistera comme il a affisté les autres; & que pour lors il ait recours à de mal-heureux estrangers, qui ne sont venus à leurs païs que pour les perdre & les ruiner.

A la verité toutes ces rencontres ne seruiroient que de matiere & de fuit de victoire & de triomphe à ces nouveaux Champions, s'ils auoient assez de resolution & de courage: mais le mal de tous les maux est au dedans de ces pauvres creatures. Leur esprit, pour la plupart, est foible au dernier point, pour concevoir & apprehender les choses qu'ils ne voyent pas, & pour se soutenir dans ces attaques par l'esprit de la Foy, en l'esperance du futur. Et leur cœur semble

tion or tacit pact and communication with the devil, we are obliged to hold all these under suspicion, and to raise scruples against them in our Catechumens and Neophytes. When there happens, then, what happens every day, that one of the family, for example, falls ill,—behold the poor Catechumen or Neophyte immediately beset by all his relatives to go to summon the Physician, that is, the visitor or Sorcerer, and to put into execution the usual remedies of the country, which are the decrees of the Sorcerer, who acts only as dependent upon the knowledge that the devil gives him of the nature of the disease, and of the remedies [114] that must be employed therein; he orders things that are nothing but abominations or deviltries. What shall a poor Neophyte do in such emergencies? If he take part in them, he publicly renounces his profession; if he do not, he incurs the hatred and desertion of his people, who fling the taunt at him that he, in his turn, will be assisted as he has assisted the others, and that then he may have recourse to some wretched foreigners, who have come to their country only to destroy and ruin them.

In truth, all these occurrences would serve only as material and occasion for victory and triumph to these new Champions, if they had enough resolution and courage. But the evil of all evils is within these poor creatures,—their minds, for the most part, are weak in the extreme in conceiving and apprehending things that they do not see, and in sustaining themselves in these attacks, by the spirit of Faith, in the hope of the future. And their hearts seem incapable of resisting the assaults of the affection of corrupted nature for kindred, and for the comforts and con-

incapable de pouuoir refister aux affauts de l'affection de la nature corrompuë enuers les proches; & pour les douceurs & commoditez de cette vie, dans laquelle depuis vn si [115] long temps ils ont mis leur fou[u]erain bien.

L'attache qu'ils ont là dedans, fait que ce qui leur paroiffoit au commencement facile, lors qu'ils ne le mefuroient que par la raifon, leur deuient dans l'exécution fi difficile: que vous les voyez à tous coups donner du nez en terre, & perdre courage, fe plaignans que le Chriftianifme ne leur fert de rien, & ne leur apporte aucun profit en cette vie.

Ces reffentimens fe renouellent autant de fois que quelqu'un dés leur deuient malade, ou fe meurt, ou que quelque autre mal heur leur arriue. Vous diriez, à les entēdre parler, qu'ils n'ont pretendu, fe faifans Chreftiens, que de viure long-temps, eux ou au moins leurs enfans. Et ie ne ſçay fi ce qui fe trouue dans la façon de propofer les Cōmandemens de Dieu, où il eft promis vne longue vie à ceux qui honorent pere & mere, ne les abuse & trompe point pour l'ordinaire.

Ie ne m'eſtonne plus d'où vient que les Epiftres des Apoftres font fi fort remplies du *modicum nunc ſi oportet contriftari in variis tribulationibus*. Ils eſcriuoient à des Cathecumenes & Neophytes qui ne ſçauoient [116] eſtre affez eſtançonnez de ce coſté là. Et nous nous trouuons fort fouuent dans la meſme peine, que ce grand Apoftre des Gentils, qui diſoit, *Filioli quos iterum parturio, donec formetur Chriſtus in vobis*.

Il ſemble que le paſſage du chapitre 14. de l'Euan-gile de ſainct Luc, ne ſe peut mieux entendre que de

veniences of this life, in which so [115] long they have placed their supreme good.

Their inward attachment for these things makes that which at first seemed to them easy, when they only measured it by reason, to become so difficult in the execution, that you see them becoming confused at every turn, and losing courage, complaining that Christianity is of no service to them and brings them no profit in this life.

These feelings are revived whenever any of them become sick, or die, or when some other misfortune happens to them. You would say, to hear them talk, that their sole aim in becoming Christians was to live long,—they, or at least their children. And I do not know if the manner of stating the Commandments of God, where a long life is promised to those who honor father and mother, does not, ordinarily, impose upon and deceive them.

I no longer wonder why the Epistles of the Apostles are so full of *modicum nunc si oportet contristari in variis tribulationibus*. They wrote to Catechumens and Neophytes who could not [116] be sufficiently fortified on that side; and we very often find ourselves in the same trouble as that great Apostle of the Gentiles, who said, *Filioli quos iterum parturio, donec formetur Christus in vobis*.

It seems that that passage in the 14th chapter of the Gospel of saint Luke cannot be better understood than in reference to our poor barbarians, in the mention there made of those who, at the very last, were invited to the supper of the adorable Man-God to fill the places which remained empty at the banquet table, and, in fine, to supply the absence of all those who had been earlier invited. These were people

nos pauvres barbares, lors qu'il y eſt parlé de ceux qui tous les derniers furent inuitez au ſouper de l'adorable Homme-Dieu, pour parfourrir les places qui reſtoient vuides dans la table du banquet, & ſuppleer en fin au defect de tous ceux qui auparavant auoient eſté inuitez. C'eſtoient des perſonnes qu'on alla chercher dans les ſentiers, parmy les ronces & les broſſailles, & qu'on auoit commiſſion d'amener, & faire entrer par force. Nous n'auons icy & n'y pouuons auoir, ny la force de la contrainte, ny les chaines des bien-faits, au point qu'il faudroit, pour rendre ces peuples entierement noſtres. Tout noſtre force eſt au bout de la langue; en la monſtre & production de nos liures & Eſcritures, dôt ils ne ceſſent tous les iours d'admirer les effets. Ce qui nous fert vniquement enuers [117] ces peuples, au lieu de tout autre motif de credibilité. Leur faiſans voir par là, que ceux qui nous ont precedé, & qui ont eſté depuis le commencement du monde, ont peu nous donner cognoiſſance & aſſurance de ce que nous leur preſchons; là où eux ne peuuent auoir aucune marque, que ce que leurs peres leur ont enſeigné n'a point eſté controuué par eux, ou par d'autres qui leur en ont voulu faire accroire.

Il eſt croyable que quelque grand don de miracle, feroit bien capable d'eſbranler les vns, & confirmer les autres. Mais outre que tous ceux qui ont veu les miracles du Sauueur du monde, & ceux des Apôſtres, n'ont pas pour cela creu, au moins avec fermeté & conſtance, il ſemble que Dieu nous ait meſme voulu faire voir par experience, que ce n'eſtoit pas cela à quoy il tenoit. Et qu'il falloir quelque autre choſe que des miracles pour conuertir des Sauvages, auſſi



whom they sought for in the lanes, among the brambles and hedges, and whom they were commissioned to bring, and compel to enter. We have not here, nor can we have, either the power of constraint or the chains of benefits, to the extent that would be necessary to render these people entirely ours. All our power lies at the end of our tongues, in the exhibition and production of our books and Writings, the effects of which they never cease to wonder at. This is the only thing that avails us with [117] these peoples, in lieu of all other ground for credibility,—causing them to see through this means that those who have preceded us, and who have existed from the beginning of the world, have been able to impart to us a knowledge and assurance of what we are preaching to them, while they can have no proof that what their fathers have taught them was not invented by them, or by others who wished to make them believe it.

It is probable that some great gift of miracle would be quite capable of shaking some and confirming others. But,—besides that not all those who saw the miracles of the Savior of the world, and those of the Apostles, as a result thereof believed, at least with firmness and constancy,—it would seem that God may have even intended to make us see, through experience, that it was not that which he was considering, and that something else beside miracles was needed to convert Savages, as well as to convert all other classes of people.

In the extreme heat of last Summer, when the fields around the village of the Residence of la Conception were all parched with heat and drouth for want of rain, the inhabitants, being in despair, ad-

bien que pour conuertir toute autre sorte de perſonnes.

Au plus fort de l'Eſté dernier, les champs d'alentour le bourg de la Reſidence de la Conception eſtans tous grillez de chaleur & de ſeicheſſe à faute de pluye, les habitans eſtans au deſeſpoir, s'adreſſerent à nos [118] Peres, qui firent vœu de dire quelques Meſſes. Le lendemain on n'eut pas pluſtoſt commencé la premiere, qu'il commença à pleuuoir vne pluye la plus fauorable qu'on euſt peu ſouhaitter, qui dura trois iours. Ce ne furent ſur le champ qu'admiration & remerciemens; mais en fuite, de renoncer à leurs ſuperſtitions, c'eſt à quoy ils ne ſe peuuent refoudre.

Au bourg de la Reſidence de ſainct Ioseph, vn des principaux & plus anciens Capitaines, nommé Ondi-horrea, eſtant par maladie reduit à l'extremité, & ayant au commencement refusé nos viſites & noſtre aſſiſtance, apres auoir experimenté en vain tous les remedes ordinaires du païs pour le recouurement de ſa ſanté: Eſtant abandonné & comme aux abois de la mort, ſe ſentit porté par quelque eſpece de viſion qu'il euſt de nous eſcouter en fin, & receuoir le bien & les bons offices que nous luy deſirions rendre en telle occaſion, comme à celui qui auoit le plus contribué à noſtre eſtabliſſement dans ce bourg. Le voila donc inſtruiſt & baptisé; & auſſi toſt le voila ſur pied, avec l'eſtonnement de tous ceux qui l'auoient vn peu [119] auparauant tenu pour deſeſperé, auſquels comme à toute autre ſorte de perſonnes qui le venoient voir de tout le païs, il ne ſe laſſoit iamais de leur racôter ce qui ſ'eſtoit paſſé; & qu'il tenoit entierement ſa vie du baptême qu'il auoit receu.

Qui n'eũt penſé que cette rencontre en vne per-

dressed themselves to our [118] Fathers, who made a vow to say several Masses. The next day, they had no sooner begun the first one, than there began to pour down a rain, the most favorable that one could have desired, which lasted three days. There was, at the time, only admiration and thanks; but afterward, to renounce their superstitions was something they could not resolve to do.

In the village of the Residence of saint Joseph, one of the principal and oldest Captains, named Ondi-horrea, being brought very low by sickness, at first refused our visits and our help. After having tried in vain all the usual remedies of the country for the recovery of his health,—being abandoned and, as it were, confronted by death,—he was prompted, by some sort of vision that he had, at last to listen to us, and to receive the kindness and the good offices that we would desire to render him in such an emergency, as to the one who had contributed most to our establishing ourselves in that village. Accordingly, he was instructed and baptized; and behold him immediately upon his feet, to the astonishment of all those who had a little while [119] before despaired of his life,—to whom, as to all other persons who came to see him from all parts of the country, he never wearied recounting what had occurred, and that he owed his life entirely to the baptism he had received.

Who would not have thought that this event, happening to so important a personage, would affect, as it ought, the whole country? But, so far from any one profiting thereby, the very man to whom it had happened, who testified so much gratitude for it, after having been present once at Mass, did not

bonne si confiderable, n'eust deu esbranler tout le païs? mais tant s'en faut qu'elle ait profité à perfonne: que celuy mefme à qui elle eft arriuée, qui en tefmoignoît tant de recognoiffance, apres auoir affifté vne fois à la Mefle, n'y eft pas retourné pour la feconde; voyant qu'en fuite de la profeflion qu'il feroit du Chriftianifme, il luy falloit quitter certaines confrairies diaboliques, dont il eftoit le chef; & les fonctions & exercices du miniftère de Satan, en qualité d'ancien & principal Capitaine, à qui il appartient de regler & maintenir les couftumes du pays.

Je pourrois produire quelques autres exemples femblables des merueilles qu'il a pleu à Dieu de faire en de pareille[s] rencontres, lesquelles si elles ne font miracles, n'en font guieres loin. Mais ce n'est pas icy ce que nous pretendons. Cecy feulemēt foit dit, pour faire voir qu'il femble [120] que ce n'est pas à vn defaut des merueilles, que le retardemēt de la conuerfion generale de ces peuples doit eftre attribué: & qu'il y a quelque autre chofe d'où depend ce bon heur, qu'il faut attendre avec patience de la main de Dieu.

Au refte, il femble que Dieu nous ait encore voulu faire voir, que ce n'est pas feulemēt pour le temps paffé qu'il a choifi les pauvres, & non les riches: les perfonnes de peu de confideration aux yeux du monde, & non pas celles qui font dans l'efclat, & en dignité; pour eftre les pierres fondamentales de fon Eglife, mais encore au temps prefent. Toutes les perfonnes les plus confiderables des bourgs où nous auons trauaillé à faire des Chreftiens; ou on fait la fourde oreille; ou, apres auoir embraffé le Chriftianifme, l'ont d'eux mefmes abandonné; ou fe font

return a second time,—seeing that, as a result of his profession of Christianity, he would have to leave certain diabolical fraternities, of which he was the chief, and also the functions and duties of the ministry of Satan, in his character of old and principal Captain, to whom it belongs to regulate and maintain the customs of the country.

I could produce some other like examples of the wonders it has pleased God to perform in like cases,—which, if they are not miracles, are not far from them. But this is not our object. Let that alone be said, in order to show that apparently [120] it is not to a lack of miracles that we should attribute the delay in the general conversion of these tribes; and that there is some other thing upon which this blessing depends, which must be awaited with patience from the hand of God.

Moreover, it seems that God has also wished to make us see that it is not only in times past that he has chosen the poor and not the rich, persons of little importance in the eyes of the world, and not those who are eminent and of high rank, to be the foundation stones of his Church, but in the present time also. All the more prominent persons of the villages where we have labored to make Christians either have turned a deaf ear, or, after having embraced Christianity, have of themselves abandoned it, or have behaved in such a manner—resuming their wicked customs, and showing a desire to continue in them—that we have been obliged to advise them not to be present any more at the meetings of the Christians. We are determined sooner to see the whole undertaking reduced to naught than to suffer such an intermixture, and spots and wrinkles so enormous upon these

comportez de la forte, reprenans leurs mauuaifes coutumes, auec volonté d'y perfeuerer, que nous auons esté contrains de leur donner aduis de ne se plus trouuer à l'assemblée des Chrestiens, reholus de voir plustost le tout reduit au neant, que de souffrir vn tel meflange, & des tafches & des rides si enormes dans ces nouuelles [121] Espoufes, que nous pretendons offrir à celuy qui a respandu son sang diuin, pour leur donner l'estre & la vie: & qui nous a icy enuoyé pour en recueillir les fruiçts. Cette douce rigueur que nous auons exercée enuers ces pauvres esclaves de Satan, n'a pas feruy de peu à releuer l'estime de nos mysteres & du Christianisme, dans l'esprit de tous ceux qui en ont eu la cognoissance, & a commencé à les defabufer de la creance que plusieurs ont, que lors que nous desirons & les preffons de se faire Chrestiens, & d'en faire profession, c'est nostre interest & nostre affaire, non la leur; & qu'il n'y a rien pour eux à y profiter.

Après tout, ie ne sçay si nous auons plus de fuiet de plaindre & déplorer ces defastres, que de nous en resiouïr, & remercier Dieu des lumieres & du courage qu'il donne à quelques-vns de ce petit troupeau: n'y ayant pas vne de ces trois Eglises, dans laquelle il ne se trouue des Chrestiens, en la procedure desquels il ne semble pas qu'il y ait rien à souhaiter de plus net & de plus accomply, auec des tendresses de conscience & vn recours cordial à la confession, qui ne furent iamais du creu d'un [122] Sauuage. Ce que nous auons dit aux Chapitres precedens, suffira pour le present. C'est vn leuain que le S. Esprit va formant & conseruant, qui en son temps seruira & fera de bons effects comme nous esperons, & nous nous promettons de la bonté misericorde de Dieu.

new [121] Brides, whom we purpose to offer to him who has shed his divine blood to give them being and life, and who has sent us here to gather the fruits thereof. This gentle severity which we have exercised towards these poor slaves of Satan has served not a little to raise the value of our mysteries and of Christianity in the minds of all those who had any knowledge of them; and it has begun to disabuse them of the belief that many have, that, when we desire and urge them to become Christians, and to make such profession, it is our interest and our business, not theirs, and that there is no profit therein for them.

After all, I do not know whether we have more reason to complain of and deplore these disasters than to rejoice over them, and to thank God for the light and courage he has given to some of this little band,—for there is not one of these three Churches in which are not found Christians, in whose practice, it would seem, nothing purer or more complete could be desired, combined with a tenderness of conscience, and a cordial recourse to confession, which were never natural to a [122] Savage. What we have said in the preceding Chapters will suffice for this one. It is a leaven that the Holy Ghost continues to form and preserve, which will, in its time, be of service and have good results, as we hope and promise ourselves from the merciful goodness of God.

I have said nothing here, to avoid tediousness, of the difficulty these Barbarians have in abstaining from work on Sundays,—these tribes living only from hand to mouth, and finding it hard to do otherwise. Neither have I spoken of the trouble they have in observing Lent,—which always comes in the

Je n'ay rien dit icy, pour éuiter la longueur, de la difficulté que ces Barbares ont de chommer les Dimanches: ces peuples ne viuans qu'au iour la iournée, & y ayant de la peine à le faire autrement. Je n'ay point auffi parlé de la peine qu'il y a de garder le Carefme, qui se trouue tousiours en la faifon, dans laquelle est le retour de leur chaffe; & par consequent l'vnique temps de l'année auquel ils ont quelque peu de chair; non plus que de tout plein d'autres difficultez qui se rencontrent en l'establissement de ces nouuelles Eglises; dont l'vne des plus confiderables est l'instabilité de leurs mariages; ce sont difficultez qui se conceuront ayfement, & mieux peut-estre que ie ne les pourrois expliquer: Venons à la principale de toutes leurs difficultez, où pour mieux dire à la source de tous leurs mal-heurs.



season when they return from the chase, and consequently is the only time of the year when they have a little meat,—any more than of many other difficulties which are encountered in the establishment of these new Churches, one of the most important of which is the instability of their marriages. These are difficulties which will be easily imagined, and perhaps better than I could explain them. Let us come to the chief of all their difficulties,—or, to express it better, to the source of all their misfortunes.

## [123] CHAP. DERNIER.

DU REGNE DE SATAN EN CES CONTRÉES. ET DES  
DIVERSES SUPERSTITIONS QUI S'Y TROUVENT IN-  
TRODUITES & ESTABLIES, COMME PREMIERS  
PRINCIPES & LOIX FONDAMENTALES  
DE L'ESTAT & CONSERVA-  
TION DE CES PEUPLES.

**I**E n'entreprends pas de traiter ceste affaire à fonds.  
Quiconque l'entreprendroit, se trouueroit à mon  
iugement plus empesché que ne fust iamais Her-  
cule à escurer les estables d'Augée.

Ce que ie pretends, n'est autre chose que de par-  
courir quelques actions particulieres qui se font  
passées cet hyuer au seul bourg de la Residence de la  
Conception, où i'ay fait ma principale demeure, dans  
lesquelles nous nous sommes trouuez obliger d'exa-  
miner les tenants & aboutissants de ces miseres, en  
consideration de nos Chrestiens, à la conscience des-  
quels nous estions obliger de pourvoir.

Iettans les yeux sur les coustumes & façons [124]  
de faire de ces peuples, elles nous auoient tousiours  
bien paru, comme de vieilles mares puantes, toute-  
fois nous n'en auions quasi veu par le passé, que le  
dessus. Mais depuis qu'à l'occasion de nos Chre-  
stiens, il nous a fallu fouiller dedans, & remuer ce  
cloaque, il n'est pas croyable combien on y a trouué  
de puanteur & de misere.

Vn vieillard de ce bourg nommé Taorhenché,

## [123] CHAP. THE LAST.

OF THE REIGN OF SATAN IN THESE COUNTRIES; AND  
OF THE VARIOUS SUPERSTITIONS INTRODUCED AND  
ESTABLISHED THEREIN, AS THE FIRST PRIN-  
CIPLES AND FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF  
THE CONDITION AND PRESERVA-  
TION OF THESE PEOPLES.

I DO not undertake to treat this subject exhaustively,—whoever should undertake this would, in my opinion, find himself before a greater task than ever had Hercules in cleansing the Augean stables.

What I do intend to do is merely to survey briefly some special incidents that have occurred this winter,—only in this village of the Residence of la Conception, where I have made my principal abode,—in which we have found ourselves obliged to examine the circumstances and details of these calamities, in behalf of our Christians, for whose consciences we are obliged to provide.

Casting our eyes over the customs and practices [124] of these peoples, they had always appeared to us like stagnant, ill-smelling pools; yet we had hardly seen, in the past, more than the surface. But since we have been obliged, on account of our Christians, to search within, and remove this sewer, it cannot be believed what a stench and what wretchedness we have found there.

An old man of this village, named Taorhenché,

auoit depuis enuiron deux ans vn chancre au bras, qui du poignet où il commença, luy estoit tousiours monté vers l'espaule, & commençoit à entrer dans le corps. L'on dit que par le passé il n'auoit oublié aucune ceremonie, ou pour mieux dire, aucune superstition de celles qui se pratiquent dans le païs, pour le recouurement de sa santé. Cét hyuer dernier, vn peu deuant que de mourir, il donna à entendre aux Capitaines qu'il desiroit quelque chose pour sa consolation, & pour faire vn dernier effort de sa guerison. On assemble le Conseil, on depute des personnes, pour aller apprendre ses desirs, qui aboutissoient à cinq ou six chefs: A quelque nombre de chiens d'une certaine façon & couleur pour faire festin trois iours [125] durant: à quantité de farine pour le mesme uiuet: à quelques danses & choses semblables: mais principalement à la ceremonie de l'andaxander, qui est vn accouplement d'hommes avec filles qu'il se fait à l'issuë du festin, il specifica qu'il falloit 12 filles, & vne treiziesme pour luy.

La responce portée au conseil, on luy fo[u]rnit aussi tost ce qui se pouuoit donner sur le champ; & ce de la liberalité & contribution volontaire des particuliers, qui se trouuerent là, où en entendirent parler. Ces peuples faifants gloire en telles rencontres, de se despoüiller de ce qu'ils ont de plus precieux. En suite, les Capitaines furent par les ruës & carrefours, & par les cabanes crier à pleine teste, declarants les desirs du malade, & exhortants qu'on eust à y satisfaire promptement.

Ils ne se contentent pas d'y aller vne fois, ils y retournent trois & quatre, avec des termes & des accents tels, qu'en effect on eust iugé qu'il y alloit du bien

had, for two years past, an ulcer on his arm, which continued to increase from the wrist, where it commenced, towards the shoulder, and began to enter the body. It was said that in the past he had not forgotten any ceremony—or, to express it better, any superstition—of all those which are practiced in the country, for the recovery of his health. This last winter, a little before his death, he gave the Captains to understand that he desired something as a consolation, and that one last effort should be made for his recovery. The Council is assembled, and some persons are deputed to go and learn his desires; these turn upon five or six points,—a number of dogs of a certain shape and color, with which to make a three days' feast; [125] a quantity of flour for the same purpose; some dances, and like performances; but principally upon the ceremony of the "andacwander," a mating of men with girls, which is made at the end of the feast. He specified that there should be 12 girls, and a thirteenth for himself.

The answer being brought to the council, he was furnished immediately with what could be given at once, and this from the liberality and voluntary contributions of individuals who were present there and heard the matter mentioned,—these peoples glorying, on such occasions, in despoiling themselves of the most precious things they have. Afterward, the Captains went through the streets and public places, and through the cabins, announcing in a loud voice the desires of the sick man, and exhorting people to satisfy them promptly.

They are not content to go on this errand once,—they repeat it three or four times, using such terms and accents that, indeed, one would think that the

de tout le païs. Ils ont cependant foin de marquer le nom des filles & des hommes qui se presentent pour l'exécution du principal desir du malade, & dans l'affemblée du festin, on les nomme tout haut, apres [126] quoy s'enfuiuent les congratulations de toute l'affistance, & les meilleurs morceaux qui sont portez à ces deputez & deputées, qui doiuent iouïr de si mal-heureux personages à l'issuë du festin, apres quoy s'enfuiuent les remerciements de la part du malade, & de la santé qu'on luy a redonnée, se proffessant tout à fait guery par vn tel remede.

Ce miserable jeu continua deux iours, le troisieme il ne se fist pas, quoy qu'il se deust faire selon le premier dessein & intention du malade. On nous a voulu faire croire que ce fust nous qui en fumes la cause, pour auoir tesmoigné le desplaisir & la peine que nous en auions. Quoy qu'il en soit, toute la ceremonie se passa, sans que la malade pour cela s'en porta mieux, & bien tost apres il mourut. Dans son dernier festin auant la mort, il dit qu'il mouroit volontiers, & qu'il n'auoit qu'un seul regret de se voir priué des bons morceaux dont toute sa vie on l'auoit honoré dans les festins. Ceste ame estoit trop de chair, pour gouster les choses de l'esprit.

Deuant que le fort de la maladie eust attaché ce pauvre mal-heureux sur sa natte, il venoit quelquefois en nostre cabane, [127] & en fuite dans nostre Chappelle; ou apres auoir considéré toutes les images; ie ne sçay, disoit-il, qui est celuy-là, monstrant l'image de nostre Seigneur, mais il n'y a que luy qui me fasse peur.

Il auoit bien raison de le dire, particulièrement apres auoir tant de fois mesprisé ses saintes sermons.

welfare of the whole country was at stake. Meanwhile, they take care to note the names of the girls and men who present themselves to carry out the principal desire of the sick man; and in the assembly of the feast these are named aloud, after [126] which follow the congratulations of all those present, and the best pieces, which are carried to the men and women deputed to appear in so wretched characters at the end of the feast; then ensue the thanks of the sick man for the health that has been restored to him, professing himself entirely cured by this remedy.

This wretched play continued for two days; on the third, it was not enacted, although it should have been, according to the first plan and intention of the patient. They tried to make us believe that it was we who were the cause of this, for having shown the displeasure and pain that we felt. Be that as it may, the whole ceremony took place without the sick man feeling any better in consequence, and soon afterward he died. In his last feast before death, he said that he died willingly, and that he had only one regret,—that of seeing himself deprived of the delicious morsels with which he had all his life been honored in the feasts. This soul belonged too much to the flesh to enjoy the things of the spirit.

Before the severity of the disease had confined this poor creature to his mat, he sometimes came to our cabin, [127] and afterward to our Chapel,—where, after having surveyed all the images, he said, “I do not know who that one is”—pointing to the image of our Lord—“but he is the only one who makes me afraid.”

He had good reason to say this, especially after

On fit tous les efforts imaginables pendant sa maladie pour le gagner à Dieu; mais cet esprit railleur n'auoit de la langue que pour demander des pruneaux & des raisins, & des oreilles pour entendre la réponse: hors de cela on luy rompoit la teste, ou se mettoit à railler.

On redoubla les efforts à sa mort; & en fin on fit tant, qu'au moins en apparence il tesmoigna desirer le baptême. On l'instruit donc plus particulièrement encore que par le passé. Mais comme il auoit toute sa vie, méprisé nos mysteres, & qu'il venoit tout fraîchement de donner vn scandale public, on iugea à propos qu'il donnast quelque marque de sa bonne volonté, & qu'il n'y auoit point de fiction, ny en sa foy, ny en sa penitence.

On luy propose donc qu'il eust au moins à inuiter deux ou trois personnes du [128] bourg, des plus considerables, auxquels il s'estoit adressé pour ces meschâtes actions; & qu'en leur presence il tesmoignast le desir qu'il auoit du baptême; & son desplaisir & regret de ce qui s'estoit passé pendant sa vie si detestable & abominable. Il receut fort froidement ceste proposition, & ne se voulut mettre en peine de l'exécuter. Ce qu'estant adiousté, avec plusieurs autres indices de peu de disposition qu'il y auoit en luy, on fut contraint de l'abandonner.

Ce miserable vn peu deuant que de mourir, tomba en pafmoison, de laquelle reuenant il dit, à ce qu'on nous a rapporté, qu'il venoit de l'autre monde, où il n'auoit rien veu de ce que disent les François; mais bien qu'il y auoit rencontré plusieurs de sa famille & parenté, qui luy auoient fait tres-bon accueil, l'affeurants qu'il y auoit long-temps qu'on l'attendoit



having so often despised his holy invitations. All imaginable efforts were made during his sickness to win him to God; but this scoffing spirit had a tongue only to ask for prunes and raisins, and ears to hear the answer; beyond that one would either split his head or set him to scoffing.

These efforts were redoubled, at the time of his death; and, finally, so much was done that, at least in appearance, he showed a desire to be baptized. He was instructed, therefore, still more thoroughly than he had been in the past; but, as he had all his life despised our mysteries, and as he had quite recently caused a public scandal, it was considered best that he should give some sign of his good will, and proof that there was no hypocrisy in his faith or in his penitence.

It was proposed to him, then, that he should at least invite two or three of the [128] more prominent persons of the village, to whom he had addressed himself in regard to these wicked actions; and that in their presence he should declare the desire he had for baptism, and his displeasure and regret at what had taken place during his so detestable and abominable life. He received this proposition very coldly, and would not put himself to the trouble of executing it. This, added to several other indications of the little willingness that he felt, obliged us to abandon him.

This wretch, a little while before he died, fell into a swoon; coming out of it, he said, according to what was told us, that he came from the other world, where he had seen nothing of what the French told; but, rather, that he had met there several of his own family and relatives, who had most kindly welcomed

en bonne deuotion, & qu'on se difpofoit pour faire en fa confideration force danfes & feftins excellens. En effect fe le perfuadent de la forte, pour s'y trouuer dans le mefme equipage & appareil qu'il auoit veu les autres, il fe fift peindre tout le vifage de rouge; fe fift apporter & mettre deffus-foy ce [129] qu'il auoit de plus beau, on luy donne fon plat & fa culier; & là deffus meurt.

Ce barbare paffoit dans le iugement commun des Sauuages, pour vn des plus hōneftes hommes & des plus gens de bien de tout le païs. Que fi vous leur demandez, en vertu de quoy? c'eft, difoient-ils, que c'eftoit vn homme paifible, qui ne faifoit mal à perfonne, & qui fe plaifoit fort à fe réioüir & faire feftin. Si le iugement des Sauuages eft veritable, ie laiffe à penfer ce que valent tous les autres.

A l'occafion de ce mal-heureux qui s'eftoit plusieurs fois feruy des remedes dont nous venons de parler, & qui auoit certaine danfes & chanfons affectées en toutes les ceremonies qui fe faifoient à fon occafion. Nous apprifmes qu'il n'y a point, ou prefque point de famille en ces contrées, dont les chefs n'ayent quelques danfes, feftins & autres ceremonies affectées pour le remede de leurs maladies, & le bonheur de leurs affaires: mais que le tout a efté enfeigné par les Demons, foit en la façon que nous dirons tantoft, foit en leur apparroiffant en fonge, tantoft en forme de corbeau, ou autre oyfseau; tantoft en forme de couleuvre, comme il eftoit arriué [130] celui dont nous venons de parler, ou d'autre animal, qui leur parle, & leur declare le fecret de leur bon-heur, foit pour le recouurement de leur fanté, quand ils feront tombez malades, foit pour le bon fucez de leurs

him,—assuring him that his coming had been devoutly awaited for a long time, and that they were ready to have many fine dances and feasts on his account. In fact, he so convinced himself of the truth of this, that, in order to be present there in the same dress and magnificence in which he had seen the others, he had his whole face painted red, had brought and placed over him [129] the finest articles he had, was given his plate and spoon; and thus he died.

This barbarian passed, in the common opinion of the Savages, as one of the most respectable and virtuous men of the whole country; if you asked them upon what grounds, they said, “Because he was a peaceable man, who did no harm to any one, and who greatly delighted in merrymaking and in giving feasts.” If the opinion of the Savages is correct, I leave you to imagine of what value all the others are.

In connection with this unhappy man, who had several times employed the remedies of which we have just spoken, and who had certain special dances and songs in all these ceremonies which were performed in his behalf,—we learned that there is hardly any family in these countries, the heads of which do not have some dances, feasts, and other ceremonies suitable for the cure of their diseases and the success of their business; but that all these have been taught by the Demons, either in the manner that we shall presently describe, or by appearing to them in dreams,—now in the form of a raven, or some other bird, now in the form of a serpent, as happened [130] to him of whom we have just spoken, or of some other animal, which speaks to them and reveals the secret of their good fortune, either in the recovery of their health when they fall sick, or in the

affaires. Et ce fecret s'appelle Ondinoc: c'est à dire, desir inspiré par le Demon. Et en effect si vous demandez à celui qui desire en cette maniere qu'elle est la cause de ce desir, il n'a autre responce, sinon ondays ihatonc oki haendaerandic, la chose sous l'apparence de laquelle mon Démon familier m'apparoist m'a donné cét aduis.

Ces Ondinons font tousiours accompagnez de festins ou de danfes, dont les ceremonies, & mesmes les chanfons qui s'y chantent, font pour la plupart dictées, par le Démon, qui exprime le tout avec des precautions & menaces, que tout est perdu si on manque à la moindre circonstance. C'est ce qui fait, que lors que les Capitaines vont publier les desirs des malades, ou autres, personnes qui ont songé, & qu'ils disent que c'est l'Ondinonc d'un tel, aussi-tost chacun se met en peine, & s'applique de tout son pouvoir à donner contentement & satisfaction à qui il appartient. [131] Cecy semble entierement confirmé par la formule, de laquelle se seruent les Capitaines, apportants à la personne les choses qu'elle a desirées, au temps de la premiere assemblée. Escoute un tell, ou une telle, crient-ils, & toy voix de Demon (sçavoir qui l'as inspiré) voila ce qu'un tel, ou une telle donnent. Et en disant cela, ils iettent les presents sur la malade.

C'est la forme dont on s'est seruy dans une ceremonie qui s'est passée pendant que j'escriuois ce que dessus; à l'occasion d'une femme malade, qui selon l'un de ses desirs, fust danfée d'une danse particuliere trois heure durant, par cinquante personnes. On a esté trois iours à se preparer a ceste danse, & le iour qu'elle s'est faite, les Capitaines firent plus de

successful issue of their business. And this secret is called "Ondinoc," that is to say, "a desire inspired by the Demon." And, in fact, if you ask, from him who desires in this manner, what is the cause of the desire, he makes no answer except, "ondays ihatonc oki haendaerandic," "the thing under the form of which my familiar Demon appeared to me, gave me this advice."

These Ondinoncs are always accompanied by feasts or dances; the ceremonies of these and even the songs that are sung there are for the most part dictated by the Demon, who utters all with cautions and threats that all will be lost if they fail to carry out the least detail. The result is, that, when the Captains go about publishing the desires of the sick, or other persons who have dreamed, and when they say that it is the Ondinonc of a certain person, each one immediately takes pains and applies himself with all his might to give pleasure and satisfaction to that one to whom it belongs. [131] This seems entirely confirmed by the formula observed by the Captains when they take to the person the things that he desired, at the time of the first assembly. "Listen, such a man or woman," they cry, "and thou, voice of Demon" (meaning the one who has inspired him), "behold what such a man or woman gives;" and, thus saying, they throw the presents upon the patient.

This is the formula used in a ceremony which took place while I was writing the above, in behalf of a sick woman, who, according to one of her desires, had performed for her, by fifty persons, a special dance lasting three hours. Three days were spent in preparing for this dance; and, on the day it took place, the Captains made more than five public announce-

cinq criées publiques, tantost pour aduertir qu'on commençast à se lauer le corps, tantost que l'on se graiffast, tantost que l'on se parast d'une parure, & puis d'une autre. En fin vous eussiez dit que le feu estoit au bourg, & que tout alloit estre consummé. La dernière criée se fist, pour exciter tout le monde à s'y trouuer, & d'entrer auparauant l'arriuée de ceux qui deuoient danser, deuant lesquels vint un Capitaine [132] qui apportant le reste des desirs de la malade, fist sa clameur en la forme que nous venons de dire, fuiuit un peu apres la compagnie des danseurs hommes & femmes, à la teste de laquelle marchoient deux maistres de ceremonie, chantants, & la Tortuë en main, de laquelle ils ne cessoient de ioier. Cette Tortuë n'est pas une veritable Tortuë, il n'y a que l'escaille & la peau, disposez à faire une espece de tambour, dans lequel iettans certains petits noyaux, ils en font un instrument semblable à celui dont se seruent quelques enfans en France pour ioier. Il y a ie ne sçay quoy de misterieux dans ceste apparence de Tortuë, à laquelle ces peuples attribuent leur origine. Nous sçaurons avec le temps ce qui en est.

Ces maistres de ceremonie se mettent tantost à la teste de la malade, qui est au milieu de la cabane; & tantost se diuisant, l'un demeurât à la teste, & l'autre allât aux pieds. Tous les autres qui dansent font une espece d'ouïale, & ne cessent de tourner à l'entour de la malade tant que les maistres de la ceremonie chantent, & ioient de la tortuë. Il ne sembloit pas qu'on y peust apporter plus de soin, & de [133] mystere; & qu'il fut possible d'y auoir plus d'application, que celle que chacun auoit à bien ioier son

ments,—now to warn them that they should begin to wash their bodies, now that they should grease them, now that they should adorn themselves with one ornament, and again with another. In short, you would have said there was a fire in the village, and that everything was about to be consumed. The final announcement was made to urge all the people to be there, and to enter before the arrival of those who were to dance, before whom came a Captain [132] who, bearing the rest of the desires of the patient, made his announcement in the form that we have just mentioned; there followed, a little distance behind, the company of dancers, men and women, at whose head marched two masters of ceremonies, singing, and holding the Tortoise, on which they did not cease to play. This Tortoise is not a real Tortoise, but only the shell and skin so arranged as to make a sort of drum; having thrown certain pebbles into this, they make from it an instrument like that which children in France use to play with. There is a mysterious something, I know not what, in this semblance of a Tortoise, to which these peoples attribute their origin. We shall know in time what there is to it.

These masters of ceremony now place themselves at the head of the patient, who is in the middle of the cabin, and now move apart, one remaining at her head, the other going to her feet. All the others who dance form a sort of flock, and incessantly wheel round and round the patient as long as the masters of the ceremony sing and play on the tortoise. It did not seem as if they could use more care, or more [133] mystery, or that there could be more earnest attention than each one gave to playing well his

personnage, & cependant la malade ne se plaignit d'autre chose, sinon qu'on n'auoit pas gardé toutes les formes, & qu'elle n'en gueriroit pas, comme en effect elle empira.

Cinq ou six iours apres, elle se fait porter en vn autre bourg, où elle a esté danfée & redanfée derechef, avec aussi peu de succez, & le mesme mescontentement de sa part. Retournée qu'elle a esté icy, on a recommencé à luy ordonner de pareils remedes, & entr'autres force festins de Feu, de la nature desquels a esté amplement parlé aux precedentes Relations. En fin au milieu de l'une de ces ceremonies, ceste pauvre mal-heureuse a miserablement expiré, passant d'un festin de feu, à une autre, mais qui a bien d'autres mets, & d'autres seruices; & pour comble de malheur n'a aucune issue

Elle estoit fille d'un Sauvage, qui est en reputation d'estre un des plus riches & des plus considerables du pais en nombre de forts dits Afcandies, ou diables familiers, qui y soit; & qui pour l'affection qu'il leur portoit voulut que cette sienne fille [134] qu'il cherissoit uniquement portast le nom d'Afcandic: ce barbare fut prié de prester ces forts pour une ceremonie du jeu de Plat, dont nous parlerons cy-apres, sa fille s'y en va, ou se fiant sur les thesors de son pere, elle se met à parier comme les autres; comme elle estoit les forts, la voila surprise de la maladie, qui fit tant danser de monde, & dont en fin elle mourut, comme nous venons de dire. Tous lesquels mal-heurs ne sônt attribuez à autre chose qu'aux defauts & manquemens aux formes & circonstances des ceremonies.

C'est la plainte ordinaire des Capitaines que tout se



part; yet the sick woman only complained that they had not observed all the forms, and that she would not recover; and, in fact, she grew worse.

Five or six days later, she had herself carried to another village, where dances were again and again performed for her, with as little success, and the same discontent on her part. Having returned hither, people began to prescribe similar remedies for her, and among others many Fire feasts, the nature of which has been amply set forth in preceding Relations. Finally, in the midst of one of these ceremonies, this poor unhappy woman miserably expired, passing from one fire feast to another, but one which has quite different dishes, and different attendance, and, as a climax of misfortune, has no end.

She was the daughter of a Savage who is reputed to be one of the richest and most important persons that there is in the country, in the number of charms, called *Ascwandies*, or familiar demons,—and who, on account of the affection he had for them, ordered that this daughter of his, [134] whom he singularly loved, should bear the name *Ascwandic*. This barbarian was requested to lend these charms for a celebration of the game of *Dish*, of which we shall speak hereafter.<sup>6</sup> His daughter went to this game, and, relying upon her father's treasures, she began to bet like the others. As she was displaying these charms, she was suddenly overtaken by the illness which caused the people to dance so much, and of which she finally died, as we have just said. All these misfortunes are attributed to nothing else than to the defects and omissions in the forms and details of the ceremonies.

It is the common complaint of the Captains that

va perdant, à faute de garder les formes & coustumes de leurs ancestres. Si on brusle vn prisonnier, & que la ieunesse là dedàs soit insolente, vn vieillard se met à crier & tempester qu'on iouë à perdre le païs, que c'est vne affaire d'importance & qu'on n'y procede pas assez serieusemēt. Si on resuscite vn Capitaine, ou, pour mieux dire, son nom, quand on vient à chanter la chanson des morts, si deux femmes ne sont entrées pour donner le ton, tout est pe[r]du, & on ne s'attend à voir que testes cassées sous vn tel Capitaine qui prend le nom.

[135] Bref, c'est la seruitude & l'esclavage le plus estrange qu'on se puisse imaginer; & iamais galerie ne craignit tant de manquer à son deuoir, que ces peuples ont de frayeur de faillir à la moindre des circonstances de toutes leurs mal-heureuses ceremonies, s'enfuiuant de ce defect, non seulement la priuation de ce qu'ils attendoient, mais encore punition sensible, que le diable pour ce fuit exerce sur ces pauvres mal-heureux. Les plus iudicieux d'entr'eux aduoient franchement leur misere, & disent nettement que les seuls demons sont les veritables maistres du païs. Que ce sont eux qui reglent & ordonnent tout, soit en songe, soit autrement: qu'ils voyent bien cela, mais qu'il n'y a point de remede; qu'ils ont tousiours vescu de la sorte, & qu'il n'y a apparence ny moyen de viure d'autre maniere, autrement que tout feroit perdu.

Les Capitaines & anciens disent, que s'ils auoient entrepris ce changement, ils verroient bien-tost leur bourgs abandonnez, & que chacun infailliblement se retireroit, où il verroit les coustumes du païs obseruées, & où il trouueroit les remedes ordinaires de leurs

everything is going to destruction through their failure to observe the forms and customs of their ancestors. When a prisoner is burned, if the young men are turbulent thereat, some old man begins to exclaim and storm because they are risking the ruin of the country, saying that this is a matter of importance and that they do not behave seriously enough in it. If they resuscitate a Captain,—or, to speak more correctly, his name,<sup>7</sup>—when they come to sing the song of the dead, if two women do not come in to pitch the tone, all is lost, and they expect to see only broken heads under a Captain who assumes the name.

[135] In short, it is the strangest servitude and slavery that can be imagined; and never did galley slave so fear to fail in his duty as these peoples dread to fall short in the least detail of all their wretched ceremonies,—for there would follow from this omission, not only the privation of what they were expecting, but even physical punishment, which the devil for this reason exercises upon these poor wretches. The more thoughtful among them freely admit their misery, and frankly say that the demons alone are the real masters of the country,—that it is they who regulate and decree everything, whether in dreams or otherwise; that they see this plainly, but that there is no remedy for it; that they have always lived in this way, and that there is no prospect or means of living differently,—in other words, that [were any detail omitted] all would be lost.

The Captains and old men say that if they undertook to make this change, they would soon see their villages abandoned, and that each one would infallibly retire where he could see the customs of the country observed, and where he could find the usual

maladies. Cét article [136] est le pretexte que prennent quelques-vns de ces plus anciens & Capitaines, pour ne se pas encore rendre aux femonces du sainct Esprit. Celuy qui leur frappe si fouuent l'oreille, ouurira la porte du cœur quand il luy plaira.

Outre les Ondinons ou Desirs dont nous venons de parler, dictéz par le demon qui apparoißt sous quelque forme empruntée, il y a d'autres secrets & desirs moins considerables qui viennent de certains songes, dont ils croient leurs demons les auteurs, aufquels ils n'osent refuser d'obeïr, à moins que de s'exposer à vn danger de quelque grand mal-heur. Les plus considerables pour le iugement & l'experience d'entre nos Chrestiens, nous ont donné à entendre qu'il ne se fait quasi dans le país aucune danse ny festin qui ne vienne de ce mesme principe du démon: d'où vient qu'on y tient toutes ces choses pour si augustes, que nous n'en ferions pas dauantage pour les choses les plus saintes & sacrées de nos mysteres.

S'il arriue quelquefois que les enfans se veulent resiouïr, & danser quelques-vnes des dances qu'ils ont veu danser à leurs ceremonies; aussi-tost on les tanse, & reprend, [137] on fort rudement. Comme si en France on voyoit quelques personnes profaner vne chose sainte; qui ne doit auoir autre vfrage que celui auquel elle est consacrée.

Que dire là dessus à nos pauvres Chrestiens, quand ils demandent s'ils pourront assister aux festins, qui sont les seuls repas extraordinaires du país? Tout le meilleur poisson & la chair ne se mangeant ordinairement qu'à tels festins? Ou en outre pour le plus fouuent, on exige des assistans, des presens & des ceremonies, qu'on a bien de la peine d'excuser

remedies for their diseases. This idea [136] is the pretext that some of the older men and Captains assume for not yet yielding to the admonitions of the holy Ghost. He who so often knocks at the ear will open the door of the heart when it shall please him.

Besides the Ondinoncs or Desires, of which we have just spoken, dictated by the demon who appears under some borrowed form, there are other secrets and desires, less important, that come from certain dreams, of which they believe their demons to be the authors, which they dare not refuse to obey, at least fearing to expose themselves to the risk of some great misfortune. Those most eminent in judgment and experience, among our Christians, have given us to understand that hardly any dance or feast in the country is given that does not come from this same theory of the demon; whence it happens that all these things are looked upon as so august, that we would not do more for the sake of the holiest and most sacred of our mysteries.

If it sometimes happens that the children wish to enjoy themselves, and dance some of the dances they have seen danced at their ceremonies, they are immediately chided and reproved [137] very roughly for it, as would happen in France if people were seen profaning some holy thing, which ought not to have any other use than that to which it is consecrated.

What is to be said on this subject to our poor Christians, when they ask if they may be present at the feasts, which are the only extraordinary repasts of the country, all the best fish and meat being usually eaten at such feasts? There, besides, they usually exact, from those who attend, presents and ceremonies that one can hardly exonerate from being

d'hommage rendu à ce cruel tyran & vſurpateur de l'empire de Dieu: voire meſme que pluſieurs à ces feſtins ſembloient de veritables ſacrifices, ſur tout quand il s'agit d'un chien qui ſe tuë, & ſe mange particulieremēt en quelques rencontres, avec telles circonſtances & ceremonies, qu'il ne ſemble pas qu'on en puiſſe faire un autre iugement. Mais ce n'eſt pas maintenant dequoy il eſt queſtion, venons à d'autres hiſtoires.

Vne femme natifue de ce bourg, mais mariée dans un autre prochain nommé Angſtenc, fortant vne nuit de ſa cabane avec vne ſienne petite fille entre ſes bras, au temps que l'on faifoit dans le bourg vne [138] feſte ſemblable à celle que ie m'en vay raconter: veſt en un instant, dit-elle, la Lune fondre ſur ſa teſte, qui auſſi-toſt luy parut comme vne belle grande femme, tenant vne petite fille ſemblable à la ſienne entre ſes bras.

Ie ſuis, luy dit ce ſpectre, l'immortel feigneur general de ces contrées, & de ceux qui y habitent: en foy dequoy ie veux & ordonne que tous les quartiers de mon domaine ceux qui y habitent t'offrent des preſents, qui ſoient du creu de leur païs. Des Khionontaterons ou Nation du petun: des Attiſandarrons ou Nation neutre, des robes d'ſtay: des Askicſaneronons, ou Sorciers, vne ceinture & chaufſes, avec leur ornement de por[c]s-eſpics: des Ehonkeronons ou de ceux de l'Iſle, vne peau de cerf. Et continuē ainſi à luy nommer quelques autres nations, dont il vouloit que de chacune on luy fit quelque preſent, & entr'autres nomma les François qui habitoient en ce païs, comme nous dirons incontinent.

La ſolemnité qui ſe fait maintenant dans le bourg

homage rendered to this cruel tyrant and usurper of the empire of God, especially as many of these feasts seem to be veritable sacrifices,—above all, when it is a question of killing a dog and eating it, especially in some cases, with such details and ceremonies, that it does not seem as if one could come to any other conclusion. But that is not the question now; let us come to other stories.

A woman, born in this village, but married in another, near by, named Angoutenc, going out one night from her cabin with one of her little daughters in her arms, at a time when they were celebrating in the village a [138] feast like that I have just described, saw in an instant, she said, the Moon stoop down from above, forthwith appearing to her like a beautiful tall woman, holding in her arms a little girl like her own.

“I am,” quoth this specter to her, “the immortal seignior general of these countries, and of those who inhabit them; in testimony whereof I desire and order that in all quarters of my domain, those who dwell therein shall offer thee presents which must be the product of their own country,—from the Khiontaterons or tobacco Nation, some tobacco; from the Attiwandarons or neutral Nation, some robes of outay;<sup>8</sup> from the Askicwaneronons, or Sorcerers, a belt and leggings, with their porcupine ornaments; from the Ehonkeronons or Islanders, a deer skin.” Thus it continued to name to her certain other nations, each one of which it ordered to make her some present, and, among others, named the French who dwelt in this country, as we shall soon relate.

“The feast which is now being solemnized in the town” (adds this Demon) “is very acceptable to me,

(adiouste ce Demon) m'est fort agreable; & ie pretends bien que l'on en fasse plusieurs semblables dans tous les autres [139] endroits & bourgs du pays. Au reste, luy dit-il, ie t'ayme; & en ceste consideratiõ ie veux que dorefnauât tu me fois semblable, & que comme ie suis tout de feu, que tu fois aussi au moins en couleur de feu. Et là dessus luy ordõne vn bõnet rouge, vne plume rouge, vne ceinture, chausses, souliers, & le reste de ses vestemens avec leurs ornemens rouges: qui est en effet l'appareil avec lequel elle parut dans la ceremonie qui fut faite en fuite à son occasion.

Ceste pauvre creature retourne en sa cabane, & aussi-tost qu'elle y est arriuée, la voila par terre avec vn tournoyement de teste, & vne contraction de nerfs, qui fit iuger qu'elle estoit malade d'une maladie, dont le remede est vne ceremonie, qui en la langue de nos barbares s'appelle Ononh̃xaroia, ou tournoyement de teste; mot pris du premier symptome de ceste maladie, ou pluystost belle superstitiõ. La malade fust confirmée en ceste creance, ne voyant en songe qu'allées & venuës, & clameurs par sa cabane; ce qui l'a fit refoudre de demander au public qu'on luy celebrast ceste feste.

Sa deuotion, ou pluystost celle du diable pour nous faire despit & trauerfer les affaires [140] du Christianisme qui estoient en leur premier lustre & esclat, la porta à s'adresser à ce bourg icy ou nous sommes d'Offosane ou residence de la Conception, d'où, comme nous auons dit, elle estoit natifue. On vient donc de sa part en faire la proposition aux Capitaines, qui aussi-tost assemblent le conseil. Où il fut déclaré, que ceste affaire estoit vne de celles qui estoient des



and I desire that many like it be held in all the other [139] quarters and villages of the country. Besides," it informs her, "I love thee, and on that account I wish that thou shouldst henceforth be like me; and, as I am wholly of fire, I desire that thou be also at least of the color of fire;" and thereupon it ordains for her a red cap, a red plume, a belt, leggings, shoes, and the rest of her clothes with red ornaments; this is, indeed, the garb in which she appeared at the ceremony that afterward was solemnized for her benefit.

This poor creature returned to her cabin, and no sooner had she reached it than behold her prostrated with a giddiness in the head and a contraction of the muscles, which made them conclude that she was sick of a disease of which the remedy is a ceremony, which is called, in the language of our barbarians, Ononhwarioia, or turning round the head,—a name taken from the first symptom of this disease, or rather, this pretty superstition.<sup>9</sup> The sick woman was confirmed in this belief by seeing in her dreams only goings and comings and outcries through her cabin; this made her resolve to demand in public that they should celebrate this feast for her.

Her devotion—or rather the purpose of the devil to spite us, and to thwart the affairs [140] of Christianity, which were in their first splendor and glory—prompted her to address herself to this village where we are, Ossosane, or residence of la Conception, of which, as we have said, she was a native. They came, then, in her behalf, to make the proposition to its Captains, who immediately summoned the council. There it was declared that this affair was one of those most important to the welfare of the coun-

plus importantes pour le bien du païs, & qu'il falloit bien se donner de garde de manquer en telle occasion, de donner tout contentement & satisfaction à la malade.

Le lendemain matin on publie l'affaire par le bourg, & exhorte-on puissamment, qu'on eust à aller promptement querir la malade, & à se preparer à la feste. On y court plustost que d'y aller, de sorte que sur le midy la voila qu'elle arriue, ou plustost qu'on la porte sur les espaules, dans vne certaine espece de hotte, avec vn conuoy de vingt-cinq ou trente personnes qui se tuoient de chanter.

Vn peu deuant qu'elle arriuaft, on assemble le conseil general, auquel nous fumes inuitez. Trois de nos Peres s'y en vont sans sçauoir dequoy il estoit question. D'abord [141] on leur donne à entendre qu'on auoit desiré de nous voir en ce conseil, pour sçauoir nostre aduis sur la proposition qu'une telle malade auoit fait, & ce que nous en pensions. La response & substance fut qu'ils ne pouuoient faire vne plus mauuaise affaire pour le pays: que c'estoient des hommages qu'ils continuoient de rendre aux malins esprits, desquels par consequent ils confirmoient de plus en plus l'empire sur eux, & sur le païs, & qu'il ne leur pouuoit arriuer que mal-heur, continuant de seruir vn si mauuais maistre.

Le principal Capitaine qui sous main dirigeoit toute l'affaire, homme adroit & delié si iamais la terre en porta, au lieu de parler à propos de ce que nous auions dit, s'adresse à toute l'assemblée, & se met à crier, courage donc ieunesse, courage femmes, courage mes freres, rendons à nostre païs ce seruice si necessaire & important, suiuant les coustumes de nos

try, and that they certainly ought to avoid any failure, on such an occasion, to give every pleasure and satisfaction to the sick woman.

The next morning, the matter was published throughout the village, and people were vigorously exhorted to go promptly to bring the sick woman, and to prepare themselves for the feast. They ran thither, rather than walked, so that towards noon she arrived,—or, rather, she was carried upon their shoulders in some kind of basket, with an escort of twenty-five or thirty persons who were killing themselves with singing.

A little while before she arrived, the general council was assembled, to which we were invited. Three of our Fathers went to it without knowing the subject for discussion. At the outset, [141] we were informed that they desired to see us at this council in order to get our advice upon the proposition that such a sick woman had made, and to know what we thought of it. The substance of the response was, that they could not do a worse thing for the country,—that they were continuing to render homage to evil spirits, whose empire, consequently, they were more and more confirming over themselves and over the country; and that only misfortune could happen to them if they continued to serve so bad a master.

The principal Captain, who secretly directed the whole affair,—an adroit and crafty man, if ever the earth bore one,—instead of speaking in reference to what we had said, addressed the entire assembly, and began to exclaim, “Courage, then, young men; courage, women; courage, my brothers; let us render to our country this service, so necessary and important,

ancestres. Et continuë vn grand discours de mesme air & accent, puis d'une voix vn peu plus basse, s'adressant à ceux qui estoient à l'entour de luy: c'est, dit-il, le conseil que j'auois donné à mes nepveux les François, l'Automne passé. Vous verrez cét Hyuer, [142] leur disois-je plusieurs choses qui vous déplairont, des Ononhæaroia, des ætaerohi, & semblables ceremonies: ne dites mot ie vous prie, leur disois-je ne faites pas semblant de voir ce qui se passera, avec le tēps cela pourra changer. On nous a dit autrefois aux trois Riuieres & à Quebec, adiousta-il, que pourueu que dans quatre ans l'on creust, c'estoit assez.

Comme il continuoit semblables discours, entrent les deputez de la part de la malade, qui venoient signifier son arriuée au conseil, & dire de sa part qu'on luy enuoyast deux hommes & deux filles parées de robes & de coliers de telle & telle façon, avec tels & tels poissens & presents en main; & ce pour apprendre de sa propre bouche ses desirs, & ce qu'il luy falloit pour sa guerison: aussi-tost proposé, aussi tost executé.

Deux hommes donc & deux filles s'en vont charger de tout ce que la malade auoit désiré, & retourneront aussi-tost nuds d'un costé comme la main, excepté le brayé; tout ce qu'on auoit porté, estant demeuré à la malade; mais de l'autre chargez de demandes qui estoient les importantes, & celles dont l'accomplissement [143] deuoit commencer le recouurement de sa santé, ce qu'on luy auoit porté ne passant que pour compliment & agreement de son arriuée. Les deputez donc declarent vingt-deux presents qu'elle desiroit qu'on luy fist, qui estoient ceux que le diable luy auoit specifiez en son apparition, ainsi que nous auons

according to the customs of our ancestors!" Now followed a great speech in the same strain and tone; then, in a somewhat lower voice, he said, addressing himself to those who were around him, "This is the advice I gave to my nephews, the French, last Autumn. 'You will see this Winter,' [142] I said to them, 'many things that will displease you,—the Ononhwaroia, the Outaeroi,<sup>9</sup> and similar ceremonies; do not say a word, I pray you,' I said to them; 'pretend not to see what shall take place; with time, it may change.' We were formerly told at the three Rivers and Quebec," he added, "that, provided we believed in four years, it was enough."

As he continued the like discourse, the deputies entered on the part of the patient, who came to announce her arrival to the council, and to say for her that they should send her two men and two girls arrayed in robes and collars of such and such a fashion, with certain fish and presents in their hands,—and this, in order to learn from her own lips her desires and what was necessary for her recovery. No sooner proposed, than executed.

Two men, therefore, and two girls went, loaded with all that the sick woman had desired, and immediately returned,—for one thing, as naked as the hand, except their clouts, all they had carried having been left with the sick woman; and, for another, charged with demands which were the essential ones, and those the fulfillment of which [143] should begin the recovery of her health, what had been carried her being accepted only as a compliment, and a token of their pleasure at her arrival. Accordingly, the deputies announced twenty-two presents that she desired they should give her, which were those the devil had

dit vn peu auparauant. L'vn estoit six chiens d'une certaine façon & couleur. Vn autre estoit cinquante pains de petun. Vn autre, vn grand canot; & ainfi du reste, & entr'autre fut nommée vne couuerture bleuë, mais avec ceste circonstance, qu'il falloit qu'elle appartint à vn François.

Le rapport fait par les deputez, les Capitaines se mettēt à exhorter tout le monde de satisfaire promptement aux desirs de la malade, leur representant & inculquant sans cesse l'importance d'une telle affaire. On s'y eschauffe de la forte, que deuant que nos Peres fussent fortis de l'assemblée, on auoit desia fourny quinze de ces presens.

On attaque cependant nos Peres à diuerfes occasions & reprises, & les exhorte-on de ne pas espargner au moins ce qui les regardoit & dependoit d'eux. Nos Peres [144] à cela respondent qu'on se mocque de nous, & que si c'est pour ce suiuet qu'on nous a appelez au conseil, que le malade s'en peut bien retourner, si sans nostre contribution & nostre hommage rendu au diable & à ses ordonnances elle ne peut guerir.

Nonobstant cela, vne demie-heure apres que nos Peres furent retournez à la cabane, vne Capitaine y vint de la part du conseil: pour nous dire que tout estoit fourny, excepté la couuerture qu'on attendoit de nous, suiuant le desir de la malade. Ceste recharge n'eut autre responce, sinon qu'en cas qu'on ne voulust pas passer outre en ceste ceremonie, qui n'estoit encore qu'a son commencement, & qu'on voulust renvoyer la malade d'où elle estoit venuë, qu'en ce cas nous ferions volontiers au public present d'une couuerture, ou de quelque autre chose de plus grande valeur.

specified to her in the apparition, as we related a little earlier. One was six dogs of a certain form and color; another was fifty cakes of tobacco; another, a large canoe; and so on,—among other things, was named a blue blanket, but with this condition, that it must belong to a Frenchman.

The report having been made by the deputies, the Captains began to exhort every one to satisfy promptly the desires of the sick woman, constantly representing and inculcating upon them the importance of such a matter. They became so excited over it that, before our Fathers went out of the assembly, fifteen of these presents had already been furnished.

Meanwhile, our Fathers were repeatedly attacked, on various occasions, and exhorted not to spare what at least concerned them, and depended upon them. Our Fathers [144] answered to this that they were making sport of us, and that, if it were for this purpose that we had been called to the council, the sick woman might as well return, if, without our contribution and our homage rendered to the devil and to his ordinances, she could not recover.

Notwithstanding this, a half-hour after our Fathers had returned to the cabin, a Captain came there on behalf of the council, to tell us that everything was furnished except the blanket they were expecting from us, according to the desire of the sick woman. This second charge received no answer except that, in case they would go no further in this ceremony, which was still only in its beginning, and if they would send the sick woman back to the place whence she came, we would, in such case, willingly make to the public a present of a blanket, or of some other article of greater value.

Voila la premiere ceremonie de la feste. Le luy eusse volontiers dōne le nom de premier acte, si i'eusse peu estre affeuré de la catastrophe de toute l'affaire, pour le qualifier selon son espece; ce terme toutefois nous seruira d'oresnauant.

[145] Le second acte donc, ou la seconde ceremonie de ceste feste, fut que tous les presents estans fournis & portez à la malade, avec les formes ordinaires dont nous auons parlé cy-deuant, sur le foir on fit vn cry public, pour aduertir toutes les cabanes & toutes les familles de tenir leurs feux, allumez & les places de part & d'autre toutes disposées pour la premiere visite que la malade y deuoit faire sur le foir.

Le Soleil donc estant couché, au son de la voix des Capitaines qui redoubloient le cry, on attise les feux, & les entretient-on avec grand foin, la malade faisant recommander par tout qu'on les fasse les plus grands & les meilleurs qui se pourra, & que cela seruiroit beaucoup à son soulagement.

L'heure venuë qu'il luy fallut partir, ses nerfs, ce dit-on se deffererent, & la liberté de marcher mieux qu'auparauant luy fut renduë, mais il semble plus affeuré que cela ne se fit qu'apres auoir passé par quelques feux, ce qui est l'ordinaire; quoy que s'en soit deux Sauvages se tinrent tousiours à ses costez pendant sa promenade, luy soustenans chacun vne main; & elle ainsi [148 i.e., 146] appuyée, marcha au milieu des deux, & s'en alla par toutes les cabanes du bourg.

Dans les cabanes des Sauvages, qui sont en longueur & en façon comme des berceaux de jardins, les feux sont au beau milieu de la largeur; & plusieurs feux dans la longueur selon le nombre des familles, & la grandeur de la cabane, distâts ordinaiemēt de deux



Such was the first ceremony of the feast. I would prefer to call it the first act, if I could be sure of the catastrophe of the whole affair, that I might accurately characterize it; this term, however, will serve us henceforward.

[145] The second act, then, or the second ceremony of this feast, was that—all the presents being furnished and carried to the patient, with the customary forms of which we have spoken above—towards evening public notice was given, warning all the cabins and all the families to keep their fires lighted, and the places on both sides of them all ready for the first visit which the sick woman was to make there, in the evening.

Accordingly, the Sun having set, upon hearing the voices of the Captains, who redoubled their cries, all stirred up their fires, and maintained them with great care,—the patient having caused it to be recommended everywhere that these should be made as large and bright as possible, and that this would avail much for her relief.

The hour having come when she was to set out, her muscles, it was said, relaxed, and the freedom to walk, even better than before, was restored to her; but it seems more certain that this did not occur until after she had passed through several fires, which usually results thus. Be that as it may, two Savages remained beside her all the time during her promenade, each one holding up one of her hands; and, thus [148 i.e., 146] supported, she walked between the two, and went through all the cabins of the village.

In the cabins of the Savages, which are in length and form like garden arbors, the fires are in the

à trois pas. C'est par le milieu des cabanes, & par consequent par le beau milieu des feux que passa & marcha la malade pieds & jambes nuës, c'est à dire, par plus de deux & trois cent feux, sans se faire aucun mal, voire se plaignant continuellement du peu de feu qu'elle trouuoit qui ne la soulageoit point contre le froid qu'elle sentoit aux pieds & aux iambes. Ceux qui luy soustenoient les mains passerent aux deux costez du feu; & l'ayant conduite de la forte par toutes les cabanes, ils la ramenerent au lieu d'où elle estoit partie, sçauoir en la cabane où elle auoit sa retraicte, & ainsi se finit le second Acte.

Suiuit le troisieme, qui selon les formes & coutumes consiste en vne manie generale de tous ceux du bourg; qui excepté peut-estre quelques Vieillards, se mettent à courir par tout ou a passé la malade; matafchiez [147] ou barboüillez à leur mode, avec des deformitez espouuantables de visage, à l'enuy les vns des autres, faisant par tout vn tintamarre, & des extrauagances telles, que pour les exprimer, & les mieux donner à entendre, ie ne sçay si ie les dois comparer, ou à nos mascarades les plus extrauagants, dont on ait oüy parler, ou aux baccantes des anciens, ou plustost aux furies d'Enfer. Ils entrent donc par tout, & ont pendant le temps de la feste sur tous les foirs & les nuicts des trois iours qu'elle dure, liberté de tout faire, sans qu'on leur ose rien dire. S'ils trouuent des chaudieres sur le feu, ils les reuersent; cassent les pots de terre, affomment les chiens, jettent le feu & les cendres par tout, si bien & si beau, que souuent les cabanes & les bourgs entiers en brulent. Mais le poinct estant, que tant plus on fait de bruit & de tempeste, tant plus la personne malade en

very middle of their breadth, and there are several fires along its length, according to the number of families and the size of the cabin, usually two or three paces apart. It was through the middle of the cabins, and consequently through the very middle of the fires, that the sick woman marched, her feet and legs bare,—that is to say, through two or three hundred fires,—without doing herself any harm, even complaining all the time how little heat she felt, which did not relieve her of the cold she felt in her feet and legs. Those who held up her hands passed on either side of the fires; and, having led her thus through all the cabins, they took her back to the place whence she had departed, namely, to the cabin where she was sheltered; and thus ended the second Act.

The third followed, which, according to forms and customs, consists in a general mania of all the people of the village, who,—except, perhaps, a few Old Men,—undertake to run wherever the sick woman has passed, adorned [147] or daubed in their fashion, vying with one another in the frightful contortions of their faces,—making everywhere such a din, and indulging in such extravagances, that, to explain them and make them better understood, I do not know if I ought not to compare them, either to the most extravagant of our maskers that one has ever heard of, or to the bacchantes of the ancients, or rather to the furies of Hell. They enter, then, everywhere, and have during the time of the feast, in all the evenings and nights of the three days that it lasts, liberty to do anything, and no one dares say a word to them. If they find kettles over the fire, they upset them; they break the earthen pots, knock down the dogs, throw fire and ashes everywhere, so

ressent de foulagement, on ne se soucie de rien : & chacun se tuë à faire pis que son compagnon.

Nos cabanes qui sont dans les bourgs, ne sont pas exemptes des fruits d'une telle feste. La porte de la cabane de la Residence de saint Joseph fut brisée trois fois [148] en une pareille ceremonie. Pour ceste residence icy où ie suis, de la Conception, nous auons esté plus en repos pendant telles tempestes, pour estre esloignez du bourg d'environ une portée de mousquet. Voila quel est le troisieme acte, venons au quatrieme.

Le Soleil du lendemain estant leue, tout le monde se dispose à aller derechef par toutes les cabanes où la malade a passé, & particulièrement en celle où elle est retirée. Et ce pour proposer à chaque feu, son propre & particulier desir ou Ondinonc, selon que chacun en peut auoir eu lumiere & esclaircissement en songe; non pas toutefois ouuertement, mais par Enigmes. Par exemple, quelqu'un dira ce que ie desire & que ie cherche, c'est ce qui porte un lac dedans soy, & par cela il entend une courge ou calebace. Un autre dira, ce que ie demande se voit à mes yeux, qui feront marquer de diuerses couleurs, & par ce que le mesme mot Huron, qui signifie œil, signifie aussi de la rassade, on a entrée à deuiner qu'il en desire sçauoir quelque sorte de grains de ceste nature, & de diuerses couleurs. Un autre donnera à entendre qu'il desire un festin d'Andaxandet, c'est [149] à dire, force fornications & adulteres. Son Enigme estant deuiné, on ne manque pas de personnes qui satisfont à son desir.

Ie ne m'estonne plus que Satan ait si fort agreable ceste feste & solemnité, selon qu'il le tesmoigna à

thoroughly that often the cabins and entire villages burn down. But the point being that, the more noise and uproar one makes, the more relief the sick person will experience, they have no concern for anything, and each one kills himself to do worse than his companion.

Our cabins that are in the villages are not exempt from the results of such a feast. The door of the cabin of the Residence of saint Joseph was broken down three times [148] in a like ceremony. As for this residence here where I am, that of la Conception, we have been more quiet during such storms, because we are about a musket-shot from the village. This, then, is the third act; let us come to the fourth.

The next day's Sun having risen, every one prepares to go again through all the cabins where the sick woman has passed, and particularly to that one in which she is harbored. This is for the purpose of proposing at each fire each person's own and special desire or "*Ondinonc*,"—according as he is able to get information and enlightenment by dreams,—not openly, however, but through Riddles. For example, some one will say, "What I desire and what I am seeking is that which bears a lake within itself;" and by this is intended a pumpkin or calabash. Another will say, "What I ask for is seen in my eyes,—it will be marked with various colors;" and because the same Huron word that signifies "eye" also signifies "glass bead," this is a clue to divine what he desires,—namely, some kind of beads of this material, and of different colors. Another will intimate that he desires an *Andacwandet* feast,—that is [149] to say, many fornications and adulteries. His Riddle being guessed, there is no lack of persons to satisfy his desire.

ceste pauvre mal-heureuse creature dont il s'agist : puis qu'en icelle toutes les facultez interieures & exterieures semblent trauailler à luy rendre vne espece d'hommage & de reconnoissance. Et il semble qu'entre toutes les ceremonies de la feste, il fasse vn particulier estat de celle cy, où l'esprit mesme trauaille de la forte à son occasion, comme il se peut voir en ce qui fuit.

Aussi-tost donc que l'Enigme est proposé, aussi-tost on s'esuertuë de le deuiner : & en disant c'est cela, en mesme temps on le jette à la personne qui demande & propose ses desirs. Si c'est en effet son mot, elle s'escrie qu'on l'a trouué, & là dessus c'est vne resioüissance de toute la cabane, qui se met d'aïse à frapper contre les escorces, qui font les murailles de leurs cabanes : & en mesme temps, la malade se sent foulagée, & ce autant de fois qu'on trouue les desirs de ceux qui les ont proposé par Enigme. Il se trouua dans le conseil qui fut tenu [150] pour conclusion de ceste presente ceremonie, ou cela s'examina selon les formes & coustumes que cent Enigmes auoient esté tro[u]uées ceste fois.

Que si ce que l'on deuine n'est pas le mot de celuy qui a proposé l'Enigme, il dit qu'on en a approché, mais que ce ne l'est pas : il ne laisse pas pour cela d'emporter ce qu'on luy a donné, pour le monstrier par les autres cabanes, & par là leur faire voir & donner mieux à entendre que ce n'est pas cela, afin que par l'exclusion de plusieurs choses on ait plus d'entrée à dire ce que c'est. Il est vray qu'apres il reporte ce qu'on luy a donné, soit qu'on ait en fin trouué son desir, soit qu'on ne l'ait pas trouué, ne reseruant que ce qui estoit veritablement son mot. Quelques-vns

I am no longer surprised that Satan is so greatly pleased with this feast and solemnity,—as he declared to the poor, wretched creature concerned therein,—since in it all the internal and external faculties apparently strive to render him a sort of homage and acknowledgment. And it would seem that, of all the ceremonies of the feast, he especially values this one, where even the mind so labors in his behalf, as may be seen in what follows.

As soon, then, as the Riddle is proposed, they immediately strive to guess it; and saying, "It is that," they at the same time throw the object to the person who demands and announces his desires. If this is really his thought, he exclaims that it has been found, and thereupon there is rejoicing by all those in the cabin, who manifest their delight by striking against the pieces of bark that form the walls of their cabins; at the same time the patient feels relieved; and this happens as often as they find the desires of those who have proposed them in Riddles. It was found in the council that was held [150] as the conclusion of this present ceremony,—where this matter was examined, according to their forms and customs,—that a hundred Riddles had been guessed this time.

But if what is guessed is not the answer of him who has proposed the Riddle, he says that they are near it, but that that is not it; he does not refrain, for all that, from carrying away what has been given him, in order to show it through the other cabins, and thus make them see and understand better that it is not that,—so that, by the exclusion of many things, one is better prepared to tell what it is. True, he afterward brings back what was given him,—either because his desire has finally been ascertained,

obseruent le tout fort religieusement, mais ie ne doute point qu'il ne se glisse aussi là dedans beaucoup de fraïque & de friponnerie. Tant y a que voila le 4. acte, qui avec le precedent recommence toutes les trois nuits, & les trois iours que dure la feste.

Le cinquiesme ou dernier se commence le 3. iour. Cela consiste en vn second voyage ou promenade de la malade par les cabanes [151] qui ferme toute la feste, & ce pour proposer son dernier & principal desir, non pas ouuertement, comme elle auoit fait d'abord en arriuât, mais par Enigme, comme les autres ont fait les iours precedents. C'est icy où le diable triomphe, & fait le maistre & le seigneur tout de bon. Car premierement, ceste pauvre malheureuse sortant de la cabane est assistée de nombre de personnes, qui la suiuent, & de quelques-vns qui vont deuant, tous file à file, & vn à vn sans dire mot, avec des visages, des mines & des contenance de personnes affligées & penitentes: & sur tous la malade qui paroist seule au milieu, & dont tous les autres deuant & derriere font vn peu esloignez; de forte que le voyant marcher comme ils marchent, il est impossible de faire vn autre iugement, sinon que ce sont personnes qui pretendēt de donner de la compassion, & flechir à misericorde quelque puissance souveraine qu'ils reconnoissent estre le principe & la cause du mal de la personne dont il s'agit; & de la volonté duquel en dépend, à leur iugement, la continuation ou la guerison, & en effect, c'est cela mesme.

Or il ne faut pas que pendant que ceste [152] espece de procession dure, pas vn Sauvage paroisse au dehors des cabanes: de forte que de si loing qu'on en



or because it has not, only reserving what was really his thought. Some observe the whole ceremony very religiously; but I do not doubt that many tricks and cheats also creep into it. At all events, behold the 4th act,—which, with the preceding, is repeated on each of the three nights and the three days that the feast lasts.

The fifth or last is begun on the 3rd day. This consists of a second journey or promenade by the sick woman through the cabins, [151] which closes the whole feast, this being done to propose her last and principal desire,—not openly, as she did when she first arrived, but in a Riddle, as the others had done on the preceding days. It is here that the devil triumphs, and acts the master and lord in earnest. For first, when this poor unhappy woman goes out from her cabin she is attended by a number of persons, some following her, and some going before; all filing along, one by one, without saying a word, with the faces, appearance, and attitudes of persons afflicted and penitent,—and especially the sick woman, who appears alone in their midst, all the others, before and behind, being at some distance from her. Seeing them, then, walk as they do, it is impossible to form any other opinion than that they are persons who desire to inspire with compassion, and bend to mercy, some powerful sovereign whom they recognize as the origin and cause of the trouble of the person in question, and on whose will depends, in their opinion, its continuation or its cure; and, in fact, such is precisely the case.

Now it is necessary that while this [152] sort of procession lasts, not one Savage should appear outside of the cabins,—so that, as far away as one can

voit, ceux qui assistent le malade, se tuent de faire des signes & des gestes qu'on ait à se retirer, & à rentrer au dedans.

Entrée qu'est la malade dans les cabanes, c'est à racompter sa misere d'une voix plaintive & languissante: donnant au reste à entendre que sa guerison dépend de la satisfaction à son dernier desir, dont elle propose l'Enigme. Aussi-tost vn chacun s'applique à en trouver l'explication, & en mesme-temps iettent-ils à la malade ce qu'ils ont pensé que ce pouvoit estre, ainsi que nous venons de declarer.

Ceux qui assistent la maladie ramassent tout; & fortent chargez de chaudieres, de pots, de peaux, de robes, de couvertes, de capots, de coliers, ceintures, chausses, fouliers, de bled, de poisson, bref de tout ce qui est dans l'usage des Sauvages, & qui leur est peu venir en pensée, pour arriuer à la satisfaction du desir de la maladie.

Voila ce qui paroist, & non sans grand fondement, aux yeux esclairez de la lumiere de la foy, de veritables trophées de Satan; ou plustost une ceremonie accomplie [153] de foy & hommage que ces peuples rendent à celuy qu'ils recognoissent pour souverain maistre & Seigneur, d'où ils estiment que depend tout leur bon heur ou mal-heur.

En fin, la malade fait tant, & donne tant & tant d'ouuertures pour l'explication de son Enigme, que l'on trouve son mot. Et aussi-tost voila une clameur & resjouissance generale de tout le monde, on frappe par tout contre les escorces, ce ne sont que congratulations qu'on luy fait; & de sa part des remerciemens de la santé qu'elle a recourée. Elle retourne pour ce fuit une troisieme fois par toutes les cabanes,

see them, those who are escorting the sick person nearly kill themselves making signs and gestures that all must retreat and go indoors.

The sick woman having returned to the cabins, she begins to relate her troubles in a plaintive and languishing voice, giving the rest to understand that her recovery depends upon the satisfaction of her last desire, of which she proposes the Riddle. Each one straightway applies himself to ascertain its solution, and at the same time they throw to the sick woman whatever they imagine it may be, as we have just stated.

Those who are attending the sick woman collect all these things and go out burdened with kettles, pots, skins, robes, blankets, cloaks, necklaces, belts, leggings, shoes, corn, fish,—in short, everything that is used by the Savages, and which they have been able to think of, to attain the satisfaction of the sick woman's desire.

These appear, and not without good cause, to eyes illumined by the light of faith, as veritable trophies of Satan,—or, rather, a thorough ceremony [153] of faith and homage that these peoples render to him whom they recognize as their sovereign master and Lord, upon whom they consider that all their happiness or unhappiness depends.

Finally, the patient does so much, and gives so many and such hints as to the explanation of her Riddle, that her answer is found; and at once there is a general outcry and rejoicing of all the people, who everywhere strike against the bark walls,—which is only by way of congratulations offered her, and, on her part, of thanks for the health she has recovered. She returns, for this purpose, a third time through

apres quoy se tient le dernier conseil general, ou on fait rapport de tout ce qui s'est passé, & entr'autres du nombre des Enigmes trouuez. S'enfuit le dernier present de la part du public, qui consiste à parfournir & combler le dernier desir de la malade par dessus ce que celuy des particuliers qui l'aura deuiné, aura peu donner; & là se termine la ceremonie.

Il est à presumer que la veritable fin de cet Acte & sa catastrophe, ne fera autre que d'une Tragedie, n'estant pas la coustume du diable de se comporter autrement. [154] Toutesfois ceste pauvre mal heureuse s'est trouué apres la feste plus soulagée de beaucoup qu'auparavant, quoy qu'elle ne fust pas entiere-mēt libre & deliurée de son mal. Ce qui est attribué par les Sauvages à l'ordinaire, au defaut & manquement de quelque circonstance & perfection de la ceremonie; ce qui entretient ces peuples dans les frayeurs continuelles, & applications si exactes aux formes & particularitez de leurs ceremonies.

Ie ne sçay si selon l'ordinaire du diable de ne s'abstenir iamais d'un mal, que pour en faire vn autre, il n'auoit pas dessein de faire mourir en contr'eschange, la petite fille de ceste femme, dont nous auons parlé au commencement de ceste hystoire.

Tant y a qu'apres la feste elle deuint grandement malade: & qui porta celuy de nos Peres qui auoient charge de la cabane où elle estoit de la baptiser comme en extremite au desceu de sa mere; apres quoy la petite fille se porta mieux: nous ne sçauons pas toutefois au vray ce qui est depuis arriué, soit à la mere, soit à la fille, qui font retourner à leur bourg.

Pendant la maladie de la fille, vne bruslure qui luy arriua, pour laquelle on cherchoit [155] quelque

all the cabins, after which the last general council is held, where a report is made of all that has taken place, and, among other things, of the number of Riddles solved. Then follows the last present, on the part of the public, which consists in completing and crowning the last desire of the sick woman, over and above what that individual who has guessed it has been able to give; and there ends the ceremony.

It is to be presumed that the true end of this Act, and its catastrophe, will be nothing else but a Tragedy, the devil not being accustomed to behave otherwise. [154] Nevertheless, this poor unhappy creature found herself much better after the feast than before, although she was not entirely free from, or cured of her trouble. This is ordinarily attributed by the Savages to the lack or failure of some detail, or to some imperfection in the ceremony,—which keeps these peoples in continual fears, and in so exact observance of the forms and details of their ceremonies.

I do not know whether the devil—according to his common practice of never abstaining from one evil act, except to commit another,—intended, in exchange, to kill the little daughter of this woman, of whom we spoke at the beginning of this account.

At all events, she became very ill after the feast, which induced that one of our Fathers who had charge of the cabin where she was to baptize her, when in a critical condition, without the knowledge of her mother; after this, the little girl grew better. We do not know with certainty, however, what has happened since then, either to the mother or the daughter, who have returned to their own village.

During the daughter's sickness, a burn that she

remede, ayant donné accez au fufdit Pere au feu où elle eftoit avec fa mere. Les careffes qu'on fit à la fille, appriuoifoient l'efprit de la mere; de forte que le Pere trouua entrée fuffifante pour l'aborder, & luy faire raconter tout ce qui s'eftoit pafsé. Ce fust de fa bouche que nous eufmes la confirmation & l'efclarciffement de ce que deffus, que nous auions defia appris d'ailleurs, tant pour ce qui regardoit cefte hiftoire particuliere, que pour la nature de la maladie en foy, & ce par des perfonnes qui auoient eu le mefme mal, & qui auoient esté gueris par vn femblable remede. Elle nous apprit toutefois plufieurs circonftances, que nous ne fçauions pas; & en outre nous dit que le diable apres le refus que nous luy fifmes de donner la couuerture qu'il auoit ordonnée, qu'on nous demanda, luy eftoit apparu de nuict, & luy auoit dit que nous faifions bande à part, & que partant nonobftant noftre refus, elle ne laiffoit pas de guerir, le refte alloit bien: qu'au refte, dorefnauant il ne nous mettroit plus de la partie.

Si cela eft, ie ne fçay pas comme il l'entend, où fi c'eft vn tour du mestier qu'il a [156] exercé dès le commencement du monde *Qui mendax est ab initio*. Mais il eft affeuré que depuis ce temps, il n'a pas laiffé de nous faire folliciter, foit à la Residence de faint Iofeph en cas pareil, foit icy en quelques autres rencontres, & toufiours avec auffi peu de fucez.

Il faut qu'à ce propos ie raconte en paffant ce qui eft icy arriué pendant que i'efcriuois ce que deffus. Vn Sauvage d'un bourg voifin eft entré chez nous, portant derriere foy vn paquet d'une robe de Caftor, difant qu'il la venoit traiter pour vne couuerture, ou quelque autre piece d'eftoffe; la refponfe a esté, qu'il

had received, for which they were seeking [155] some remedy, having given to this Father access to the fire where she was with her mother, the caresses given to the daughter so mollified the mother's heart that the Father found sufficient opportunity to approach her, and induce her to relate to him all that had taken place. It was from his lips that we had the confirmation and elucidation of the above, which we had already learned elsewhere, both as regarded this particular story, and the nature of the malady itself,—and this from persons who had had the same disease, and had been cured by a similar remedy. She informed us, however, of many circumstances that we did not know, and told us, besides, that the devil—after our refusal to give her the blanket that he had ordered and that was asked of us—had appeared to her in the night, and had told her that we remained aloof, and that therefore, notwithstanding our refusal, she would not fail to recover if the rest went well; that, moreover, thenceforward he would no longer have us participate therein.

If that be so, I do not know how he understands it, or whether it is a trick of the trade which he has [156] practiced since the beginning of the world, *Qui mendax est ab initio*; but it is certain that since that time he has not ceased to have us solicited, both at the Residence of saint Joseph in a similar case, or here on certain other occasions, and always with as little success.

In this connection, I must relate in passing what happened here while I was writing the above. A Savage from a neighboring village came into our house, carrying behind him a Beaver robe in a package, saying that he had come to trade it for a blanket,

n'y en auoit point à la maison qui fut à cet vsage. Helas, dit-il, ie n'en demande qu'un petit morceau grand comme le coude. On se douta aussi-tost qu'il y auoit de l'Ondinonc: C'est pour quelque personne malade: luy dit-on; Helas oüy, respond-il, i'ay vne pauvre petite fille aagée de quatre ans ou enuiron, qui depuis l'Automne dernier est dans le plus piteux estat qui se puisse voir. I'ay fait iusques icy tout ce que i'ay peu pour le recouurement de sa fanté. En fin le Sorcier l'a visitée pour la dernière fois, & a dit que son ame desiroit ce que ie [157] suis venu vous demander, & qu'au plustost ie vous vinssé trouuer pour ce fuiet.

Il n'en fallut pas dauantage. Incontinent un de nos Peres se dispose pour partir avec le Sauuage, & aller trouuer la Petite fille là part où elle feroit, sous pretexte de luy porter quelque douceur, qui passe icy pour medecine. Il y va, la trouue telle qu'on auoit dit, la baptise sans faire semblant de rien, parcourt quelques autres cabanes selon leur loisir, pour voir s'il n'y auoit point encore quelque autre proye à enleuer des mains de Satan. Et voila d'ordinaire ce qu'il gaigne, à rechercher de nous des hommages & des recognoissances de sa souueraineté en ces contrées, cette pauvre petite fille est morte heureusement quelque temps apres.

Ce Loup infernal ne gaigneroit guiere dauantage sur les ouailles que sur les Pasteurs, si toutes estoient semblables à Ioseph Chisatenhşa, ce braue Neophyte, duquel nous auons parlé aux Chapitres precedens. Ce bon homme nourrit en sa cabane vne Brenesche, qui est vne espece d'oye sauuage; qui a desia esté ie ne sçay combien de fois l'Ondinonc, ou le songe de



or some other piece of stuff; the answer was that there was none in the house suitable for such use. "Alas!" said he, "I only ask for a little piece as long as your arm." We immediately wondered if he had not some Ondinonc in this. "Is it for some sick person?" we said to him. "Alas, yes!" he answered; "I have a poor little girl about four years old, who, since last Autumn, has been in the most pitiable state that one could see. I have until now done all that I could for the recovery of her health. Finally the Sorcerer visited her for the last time and said that her soul desired that which I [157] have come to ask from you, and that as soon as possible I should come and see you for this purpose."

Nothing more was needed. Immediately one of our Fathers arranged to depart with the Savage, and to go and find the Child, wherever she was, under pretext of carrying her some dainty that passes here for medicine. He went, found her as the man had said, baptized her without appearing to do so, and went through some of the other cabins, where they were at leisure, to see if there were not yet some other prey to rescue from Satan's hands; and this is what he usually gains by seeking from us homage and acknowledgment of his sovereignty in these countries. This poor little girl died happily, some time afterward.

This infernal Wolf would gain but little more over the flock than over the Shepherds, if all were like Joseph Chiwatenhwa, that brave Neophyte of whom we have spoken in preceding Chapters. This good man was raising in his cabin a Brenesche, which is a sort of wild goose,<sup>10</sup> and which has already been, I know not how many times, the Ondinonc, or dream,

tout plein de perfonnes; & pour laquelle [158] en fuite auoir de luy, ie ne fçay ce qu'on ne luy a pas prefeté. Ce n'eft pas toutefois ce qui luy a donné plus de peine, que de refufer ceux qui fe font prefentez pour la traiter: mais bien dauantage, de refufer à fes amis qui la luy ont demandé pour ce fujet iufques à l'importunité: mais encore, dit fa femme, s'ils nous la demandoient, fans dire que c'eft l'Ondinonc, mais vous diriez qu'on veut que ce foit expreffement pour cela, ils ne tiennent rien! Plaife à Dieu nous donner plufieurs familles de Barbares femblables à celle-là. Mais retournons à noftre hiftoire.

Il arriue quelquefois que le diable en cefte grande ceremonie dont nous venons de parler, a recommandé entr'autres chofes à la perfonne malade, de faire maifon nouuelle. En ce cas, il ne faut pas qu'elle retienne chofe du monde de ce qui luy appartient: elle doit donc donner tout ce qu'elle a, à mefme que ceux du bourg pendant les trois iours, vont propofer leurs defirs par les cabanes. Et il eft quelquefois arriué, que pour vn feul plat de bois retenu par affection & attache, le Diable s'en eft fi fort reffenty; qu'outre qu'il n'a pas accordé la guerifon, il a marqué en fonge à [159] la perfonne malade, le lieu & l'endroit où elle en deuoit mourir, pour auoir manqué, en ce point d'obeïffance & de deference à fes ordres, ce qui en effect eft arriué.

Vne ceremonie fi folemnelle nous porta à en rechercher la fource & l'origine; & nous auons trouué par le rapport des anciens, tant de ce bourg, que de celui de la Refidence de S. Iofeph. Que les autheurs tant de cefte fefte, que de toutes les autres ceremonies du païs, & nommement des danfes nuës, &

of many persons, and for which, [158] consequently, to obtain it from him, I do not know what they have not offered him. That which has given him the most trouble, however, is not to refuse those who have presented themselves to barter for it, but, far more, to refuse his friends, who have demanded this from him until he is vexed. "But," said his wife, "even if they should demand it from us without saying that it was the Ondinonc,—but, you would say, they desired it expressly for that purpose,—they would get nothing!" May it please God to give us many families of Barbarians like that one. But let us return to our story.

It sometimes happens that the devil in this great ceremony of which we have just spoken has recommended to the sick person, among other things, to furnish his house anew. In this case, he must not keep anything whatever of his possessions, and must, therefore give away all that he has, while those of the village, during three days, go through the cabins, stating their desires. And it sometimes happens that, for a single wooden plate retained through affection and attachment, the Devil has become so incensed that, besides not granting a cure, he has pointed out in a dream to [159] the sick person the place and spot where he was to die, for having failed in this matter of obedience and respect for his orders,—which really happened.

A ceremony so solemn prompted us to search for its source and origin; and we have found, through the accounts of the old men, both of this village and of that of the Residence of St. Joseph, that the authors of this feast,—as well as of all the other ceremonies of the country, and especially of the nude dances and

choses femblables, ne font autres que les Demons.

On nomme la Nation & le bourg où cela commença; & le Capitaine qui les ayant apperceu fur vn lac passer le temps de la forte, les pria instamment d'aborder à son Bourg, & leur enseigner tous ces beaux mysteres. Ce qu'apres beaucoup d'instance, & de sacrifices de chiens, que ce Capitaine leur fit, ils s'accorderent en fin.

Or nos barbares aduoient que de la s'ëfuiuit la mort du Capitaine & la ruine du bourg, & apres celle de toute la Nation, dont quelques reliquats à peine restent refugiez parmy eux, desquels ils ont appris plus particulièrement toutes les ceremonies de ces solemnitez. Toutesfois [160] ils affeurent que ceux qui par apres les ont practiqué, s'en font bien trouuez; & partant que les mal-heurs de mortalité & de misere, qui les achemine à vne pareille fin, ne doiuent pas estre attribuez à cela, comme nous leur difons & preschons cōtinuellement, mais à nostre demeure parmy eux, à laquelle seule ils s'en prennent.

Au reste, le corps des Hurons n'estant qu'un amas de diuerfes familles & petites Nations, qui se font iointes les vns aux autres pour se maintenir contre leurs ennemis communs, chacune a apporté ses danses, ses coustumes & ceremonies particulieres toutes emanées du mesme principe, qui se font communiquées à tout le païs, & qui se font en suite dependemēt du songe ou de l'ondinonc d'un chacun, quand il est malade, ou par l'ordonnance du Medecin du pays, ou visiteur qu'on a eu fuiet de nommer Sorcier ou Magicien, comme nous pourrons dire cy-apres. Et telles affaires s'appellent chez-eux Onderha, c'est à dire la terre; comme qui diroit, le foustien & la ma-

like performances,—are no others than the Demons.

The Nation and the village where this began are named, also the Captain who, having perceived them upon a lake passing away the time thus, begged them earnestly to come to his Village and teach them all these fine mysteries, to which, after much urging, and many sacrifices of dogs which this Captain offered to them, they finally consented.

Now our barbarians admit that thence ensued the death of the Captain and the ruin of the village, and, later, that of the whole Nation,—of which some few remain as refugees among them, from whom they have most minutely learned all the ceremonies of these solemnities. However, [160] they assert that those who practiced them afterwards were much benefited thereby; and that, therefore, the evils of mortality and misery, which condemn them to a like end, are not to be attributed to that, as we are continually saying and preaching, but to our dwelling among them, upon which alone they lay the blame.

Moreover, the body of the Hurons being only an assemblage of various families and petty Nations, which are associated together for the purpose of maintaining themselves against their common enemies, each one has brought its special dances, customs, and ceremonies, all emanating from the same source, which are communicated to the whole country, and which are then observed according to the dream or the *ondinonc* of each one, when he is sick, or by the order of the native Physician, or visitor, who has with reason been styled “Sorcerer” or “Magician,” as we shall relate hereafter. And such observances are called among them “Onderha,” that is to say “the ground,” as one might say, the prop

nutention de tout leur Estat. Voila nous difent les anciens & les Capitaines ce que nous appellons affaires d'importance.

[161] Pour plusieurs de ces superstitions il y a des Confrairies institutées, auxquelles & particulièrement aux Maistres d'icelles il se faut adresser.

Tous ceux qui ont esté autrefois le fuiet & l'occasion de la danse ou de la feste font de la Confrairie, auxquels apres leur mort succede vn de leurs enfans: quelques-vns en outre ont vn secret ou vn fort qui leur a esté déclaré en songe avec la chanson; pour s'en feruir deuant que d'aller, par exēple, au festin de feu: apres quoy ils manient le feu sans s'offenser.

Voicy vne hystoire qui se passa pendant le temps de cette grande ceremonie. Vn des ieunes gens du bourg des plus considerables, courant l'vne de ces trois nuicts, & faisant l'enragé fit rencontre d'vn spectre ou demon, avec lequel il eut quelque parole, ceste rencontre luy renuersa de la forte la ceruelle, qu'il tomba, & en effet en deuint fol. De remede fust de tuer promptement deux chiens, & entr'autres vn qu'il cherissoit vniquement, dont on fit festin: en fuite dequoy il se porta mieux, & en fin retourna en son bon sens.

Ce ne feroit iamais fait, si i'auois entrepris [162] de dire tous les tenans & aboutiffans de ces miseres. En voila assez de cette façon, venons à d'autres mysteres.

Sur le milieu du mois de Mars, le saison de pescher à la Seine estant venuë, on parla de la marier selon la coustume du païs à deux ieunes filles, ou plustost à deux enfans, qui n'eussent iamais eu connoissance d'homme: Et en fuite de faire les nopces ou le festin,

and maintenance of their whole State. "These," the old men and the Captains say to us, "are what we call affairs of importance."

[161] For several of these superstitions there are organized Fraternities, to which, and especially to the Masters of which, one must address himself.

All those who have once been the object and occasion of the dance or the feast, belong to the Fraternity, to which, after their death, one of their children succeeds; some have, besides, a secret or a charm which has been declared to them in a dream, with the song to be used before going, for example, to the fire feast, after which they can handle the fire without hurting themselves.

I will give an account of something that happened during the time of this great ceremony. One of the prominent young men of the village, while running during one of those three nights, and acting the madman, encountered a specter or demon, with whom he had some words; this meeting so upset his brain that he fell down, and actually became insane. The remedy was, promptly to kill two dogs, and, among others, one which he held especially dear, of which a feast was made. In consequence of this he became better, and finally returned to his senses.

I would never reach the end, if I should undertake [162] to tell all the circumstances and details of these wretched affairs. But enough of this; let us come to other mysteries.

In the middle of the month of March, the season having arrived for fishing with the Seine, they talked of marrying it, according to the custom of the country, to two young girls, or rather to two children, who had never had intercourse with men,—and then

auquel felon la forme, la Seine feroit au milieu, & les deux ieunes filles aupres. C'est la où on exhorte puissamment la Seine à prendre bon courage, & de faire en forte que la pefche foit heureufe, comme a esté dit plus amplement aux precedentes Relations.

On ietta les yeux entr'autres fur vne de nos petites Chreftiennes, aagée de quatre ou cinq ans, pour estre l'une des deux mariées; On nous en donne aduis, nous voila auffi toft à la recherche du fond de l'affaire, pour aduifer à ce que nous auions à dire là deffus. Il fe trouue donc qu'il y à quelques années que les Algonquains, qui font peuples voisins tres-intelligens & excellents en toute forte [163] de pefche, y eftans allez en cette faifon, pour pefcher avec la Seine, du commencement ne prirent rien. Surpris & estonnez d'un fuccez, qui leur estoit si extraordinaire, ils ne fçauoient que penfer. Là deffus, l'Ame, le Genie, ou l'Okî de la Seine, car nos Sauuages l'appellent de toutes ces façons, leur apparoit en forme d'un grand homme bien fait, tout mécontent & en colere, qui leur dit. I'ay perdu ma femme, & ie n'en puis trouuer qui n'ait cogneu d'autres hommes deuant moy: voila ce qui fait que vous ne reüffiffez pas, & ne reüffirez iamais iufques à ce qu'on m'ait donné contentement fur ce point.

Les Algonquains là deffus tiennent confeil, & aduifent que pour appaifer & donner fatisfaction à la Seine, il luy falloît prefenter des Filles en si bas aage, qu'il n'eust plus de fuiet de se plaindre; & que pour plus grande fatisfaction, il luy en falloît prefenter deux pour vne, ils le font donc en la maniere que i'ay marqué cy-deffus dans vn festin, & auffi-toft leur pefche reüffit à merueilles.



of celebrating the nuptials or feast, at which, according to the formality, the Seine would be in the middle, and the two young girls beside it. On this occasion, then, the Seine is vigorously exhorted to be of good courage, and so to act that the fishing be successful, as has been more amply told in preceding Relations.

They had in mind, among others, one of our little Christian girls, four or five years old, to be one of the two brides. We are informed of this, and immediately begin to investigate the matter, in order to understand what we ought to say about it. We have ascertained, then, that some years ago the Algonquains,—who are neighboring people, very intelligent, and excelling in all kinds [163] of fishery,—having gone at this season to fish with the Seine, at first took nothing. Surprised and astonished at a result which was for them so unusual, they knew not what to think. Thereupon, the Soul, the Genie, or the Oki of the Seine, for our Savages call it by all these names, appeared to them in the form of a tall, well-formed man, greatly dissatisfied and in a passion, who said to them, “I have lost my wife, and I cannot find one who has not known other men before me; that is the reason why you do not succeed, and you never will succeed until I have been given satisfaction in this respect.”

The Algonquains, thereupon, hold a council and decide, that to appease and give satisfaction to the Seine, they must present him Girls so young that he would no longer have reason to complain,—and that, for his greater satisfaction, they must present him two for one. They do this, then, in the manner that I have related above, at a feast; and immediately their fishing succeeds wonderfully.

Les Hurons leurs voisins n'en eurent pas plustost le vent, que voila vne feste [164] & solemnité instituée, qui depuis a tousiours duré, & se celebre tous les ans en cette mesme faison. Cela estant, ie laisse à penser ce que nous dismes & conseillâmes aux parents de la Fille: mais voicy le grief; car toute la famille profitant notablement d'un tel mariage, vne partie de la pesche, luy reuenant l'année quelle se faict; en quoy luy estant deuë & affectée en consideration d'une telle alliance; refuser son consentement à tel mariage, c'est se priuer & frustrer toute vne famille de la plus grande douceur, & de la meilleure rencontre qui se fasse dans le païs.

Ie ne sçay si Dieu eut agreable de mettre particulièrement la main à cette affaire, pour la rompre tout à fait, tant y a que la ceremonie ne se fit, ny d'une façon, ny d'autre.

Vne des dernieres folies qui se soit passée en ce bourg a esté à l'occasion d'un malade d'un bourg voisin, qui pour sa santé, songea ou receut l'ordonnance du Medecin du païs, qu'on luy fist vn ieu de plat. Il en parle aux Capitaines, qui aussi-tost assemblent le conseil, arrestent le temps, & le Bourg qu'il falloit aller inuiter [165] pour ce fuiect, & ce bour[g] fut le nostre. On depute de là pour en venir faire icy la proposition; elle est agréée, & en suite on se prepare de part & d'autre.

Ce jeu de plat consiste à faire sauter dans vn plat de bois quelques noyaux de prunes sauuages, chacun blanc d'un costé, & noir de l'autre, d'où s'enfuit perte ou gain selon les loix du jeu.

Il est hors de mon pouuoir de représenter l'appli-

The Hurons, their neighbors, no sooner got wind of this, than lo, there was a feast, [164] and a solemnity was instituted, that has ever since continued, and is celebrated every year at this same season. This being so, I leave it to be imagined what we said and counseled to the parents of this Girl; but lo, there ensued a grievance. For, as the whole family profit considerably from such a marriage,—part of the fish caught reverting to them in the year when it takes place, and being then due and appropriated to them, in consideration of such an alliance,—to refuse their consent to such a marriage is to deprive and defraud an entire family of the greatest pleasure and the best opportunity that can be found in the country.

I do not know whether God were pleased to intervene especially in this affair, and break it up altogether or not; at all events, the ceremony did not take place, in any form.

One of the latest fooleries that has occurred in this village was in behalf of a sick man of a neighboring village, who, for his health, dreamed, or received the order from the Physician of the country, that a game of dish should be played for him. He tells it to the Captains, who immediately assemble the council, fix the time, and choose the Village that they must invite [165] for this purpose,—and that village is ours. An envoy from that place is sent hither to make the proposition; it is accepted, and then preparations are made on both sides.

This game of dish consists in tossing some stones of the wild plum in a wooden dish,—each being white on one side, and black on the other,—whence there ensues loss or gain, according to the laws of the game.

cation & l'actiuité de nos Barbares à se preparer, & à rechercher tous les moyens & les augures de quelque bon-heur & fuccez en leur ieu. Ils s'affemblent les nuicts, & les passent partie à remuer le plat, & à recognoistre qui a la meilleure main; partie à estaller leurs forts, & à les exhorter. Sur la fin ils se mettent à dormir dans la mesme cabane, ayans au préalable ieufné, & s'estans abstenus quelque temps de leurs femmes: le tout pour auoir quelque songe fauorable, & le matin c'est à raconter ce qui s'est passé la nuit.

En fin on assemble tout ce qu'on a songé qui pourroit apporter bon-heur, & en remplit-on des sacs pour porter. On [166] recherche en outre par tout, ceux qui ont des forts propres pour le jeu, ou des Afcandics ou diables familiers, pour assister celuy qui tient le plat, & estre le plus proche de luy, lors qu'il le remuera. S'il y a quelques vieillards dont la presence soit recognuë efficace, & augmenter la force & la vertu de leur fort, on ne se contente pas de porter leur forts, mais encore les charge-on quelquefois eux mesmes sur les espaules des ieunes gens, pour les porter au lieu de l'assemblée. Et d'autant que nous passons dans le pais pour maistres forciers, on ne manque pas de nous aduertir, de nous mettre en prieres, & faire force ceremonies pour les faire gaigner.

On n'est pas plustost arriué au lieu de l'affignation, que chaque party se range de costé & d'autre de la cabane, & la remplissent depuis le haut iusques en bas, dessus & dessous les Andichons, qui sont escorces faissant comme vn ciel de liêt, ou couuerture respondant à celle d'enbas colé sur terre, sur laquelle

It is beyond my power to picture the diligence and activity of our Barbarians in preparing themselves, and in seeking all the means and omens for good luck and success in their game. They assemble at night, and spend the time partly in shaking the dish and ascertaining who has the best hand,—partly in displaying their charms, and exhorting them. Towards the end they lie down to sleep in the same cabin, having previously fasted, and for some time abstained from their wives,—and all this to have some favorable dream; in the morning, they have to relate what happened during the night.

Finally, they collect all the things which they have dreamed can bring good luck, and fill pouches with them, in order to carry them. They [166] search everywhere, besides, for those who have charms suitable to the game, or Ascwandics or familiar demons, that these may assist the one who holds the dish, and be nearest to him when he shakes it. If there be some old men whose presence is regarded as efficacious in augmenting the strength and virtue of their charms, they are not satisfied to take the charms to them, but sometimes even load these men themselves upon the shoulders of the young men, to be carried to the place of the assembly. And, inasmuch as we pass in the country for master sorcerers, they do not fail to admonish us to begin our prayers, and to perform many ceremonies, in order to make them win.

They have no sooner arrived at the appointed place than the two parties take their places on opposite sides of the cabin and fill it from top to bottom, above and below the Andichons,—which are sheets of bark making a sort of canopy for a bed, or shelter,

on se couche la nuit. Il s'en met sur les perches couchées & suspendues le long de la cabane. Les deux iotieurs sont au milieu [167] avec leurs affefteurs qui tiennent les forts, Chacun de ceux qui sont à l'assemblée, partie contre quelqu'autre ce qu'il veut: & on commence le jeu.

C'est pour lors que tout le monde se met à prier ou marmoter ie ne sçay qu'elles paroles, avec des gestes & des empreffemens de mains, d'yeux, & de tout le visage: le tout pour attirer à soy le bon-heur, & exhorter leurs Demons de prendre courage, & de ne se pas laisser tourmenter.

Quelques-vns sont deputez pour faire des execrations & des gestes tout contraires, à dessein de repouffer le mal-heur de l'autre costé, & en faire peur au Demon du parti contraire.

Ce jeu s'est ioté cet Hyuer plusieurs fois par tout le païs; mais ie ne sçay comment il est arriué que ceux des bourgs où nous auons des Residences y ont tousiours esté mal heureux au dernier point; & tel bourg y a perdu trente colliers de porcelaine, chacun de mille grains, qui est en ce païs, comme si vous disiez en France cinquante mille perles ou pistoles. Mais ce n'est pas tout, car esperants tousiours regagner ce qu'ils ont une fois [168] perdu, ils iotient sacs à petun, robes, souillers & chausses, en un mot tout ce qu'ils ont. De sorte que si le mal-heur leur en veut, comme il est arriué à ceux-cy, ils reuiennent à la maison nus comme la main, ayans quelquefois perdu iusques à leur brayé.

Ils ne s'en vont pas toutesfois deuant que le malade les ait remercié de la santé qu'il a recourée par leur moyen, se professant tousiours guery à la fin

which corresponds to that below, which rests upon the ground, upon which they sleep at night. It is placed upon poles laid and suspended the whole length of the cabin. The two players are in the middle, [167] with their assistants, who hold the charms; each of those in the assembly bets against whatever other person he chooses, and the game begins.

It is then that every one begins to pray or mutter I know not what words, with gestures, and eager motions of the hands, eyes, and the whole face,—all to attract to himself good luck, and to exhort their Demons to take courage and not let themselves be tormented.

Some are deputed to utter execrations, and to make precisely contrary gestures,—with the purpose of driving ill luck back to the other side, and of imparting fear to the Demon of the opponents.

This game was played several times this Winter, all over the country; but I do not know how it has happened that the people of the villages where we have Residences have always been unlucky to the last degree, and a certain village lost thirty porcelain collars, each of a thousand beads,—which are in this country equal to what you would call in France fifty thousand pearls or pistoles. But this is not all; for, hoping always to regain what they have once [168] lost, they stake tobacco pouches, robes, shoes, and leggings,—in a word, all that they have. So that if ill luck attack them, as happened to these, they return home as naked as the hand, having sometimes lost even their clouts.

They do not go away, however, until the patient has thanked them for the health he has recovered

de toutes ces belles ceremonies; quoy que fouuent ils ne la fassent pas longue apres en ce monde.

Le bon est qu'en fuite de ces pertes, nos Barbares retournent à la maison, ne manquent pas de nous venir reprocher, que voila iustement à quoy profite de croire, & qu'on voit bien en effet que tout ce que nous pretendons, n'est que de ruiner les lieux où nous faisons nostre demeure, & ainsi peu à peu ruiner tout le païs. Que depuis que nous sommes avec eux & qu'on leur a parlé de Dieu ils ne songent plus, leurs forts & Afcandics n'ont plus de forces, ils sont mal-heureux par tout, bref il n'y a misere qui ne les accompagne.

[169] Je ferois infiny si ie voulois raconter tout ce qui s'est passé de semblable à ce que dessus, qui regarde les ceremonies publiques, les danses differentes, les festins d'staerohi, ou du feu, & de semblables superstitions, qui se sont dit-je passées cet hyuer dernier en ce seul bourg d'où i'escry: ou toutefois ie puis dire avec assurance, qu'on en a moins fait qu'en pas vn autre bourg du pays. Je ne puis me refoudre voyant la longueur ou cela me porteroit, à entamer le narré, & le discours à fonds des autres superstitions particulieres qu'on decouvre tous les iours. Je me contenteray de ce qui fuit.

Quelques-vns de nos Barbares, & entr'autres vn de nos pauvres Renegats, racontant vn iour à vn de nos Peres les aduantages qu'ils ont à retenir & conseruer leur Afcandic, ou diable familier, que le Pere l'exhortoit de quitter. Helas, dit-il, que me dis-tu là? quand ie vay en traite ie n'ay qu'à ouurer le sac où il est, ie luy recommande de me faire auoir vn colier de porcelaine de tant de grains, vne robe ou



through their help, always professing himself cured at the end of all these fine ceremonies,—although frequently he does not do this long afterward in this world.

The best of it is, that, in consequence of these losses, our Barbarians upon returning home do not hesitate to come and reproach us,—saying that this is precisely what they gain by believing; and that indeed they plainly see that our sole intention is but to ruin the places where we have made our abode, and thus, little by little, to ruin the whole country; that since we have been with them, and have told them of God, they no longer dream, their charms and Ascwandics have no more power, they are unlucky in everything,—in fact, there is no evil that does not accompany them.

[169] My task would be endless if I should recount all that has taken place like the above, as regards public ceremonies, the various dances, the feasts of Outaeroi and of fire, and like superstitions,—which have, I say, taken place this last winter in this one village whence I am writing, where, however, I can say with certainty that fewer of them have been observed than in any other village of the country. I cannot bring myself, seeing the length to which that would take me, to enter upon a narrative and exhaustive discussion of the other individual superstitions that one encounters every day. I will content myself with the following:

Some of our Barbarians, and, among others, one of our poor Renegades, were recounting one day to one of our Fathers the advantages that they possess in retaining and preserving their Ascwandic, or familiar demon. When the Father exhorted him to

mante de tant de peaux de castor; ie luy iette en hommage & recognoissance [170] quelques grains de porcelaine, & quelque piece ou morceau de castor; finalement ie fais le festin: Ie m'en vay là dessus, & ce que i'ay pretendu ne manque iamais. Ma femme, dit-il, tremble quand ie la tire pour luy parler, mais c'est vne femme: Le Pere le pria de le l'y faire voir. O, dit-il, mon nepueu voila vne grãde demande; mais que donneras tu? Cét homme passe pour vn des plus sages & des plus referuez du bourg, & en effet il l'est! iugez du reste. Ce pauvre malheureux est allé à la guerre avec des regrets de nostre part qui ne se peuuent expliquer, & des craintes des malheurs qui luy peuuent arriuer, & en fuitte à sa famille, qui est grande & considerable.

Vn autre se plaignant que son fort n'auoit plus de force, ny pour la pesche, ny pour la chasse, ny pour la traicte, mais sur tout pour le jeu. Le Pere luy demanda, que faudroit-il pour luy rendre sa vertu? vn festin, respond le barbare, mais quoy ie n'ay ny chair, ny poisson.

Ie ne sçay comme qualifier les festins au regard de nos Sauuages, c'est l'huyle de leurs onguents, le miel de leurs medecins, le preparatif de leurs maux, l'estoille [171] de leur conduite, l'Alcyon de leur repos, le ressort de leurs ressorts & Ascandics, bref l'instrument general ou condition sans laquelle rien ne se fait, C'est à cela & pour cela que sont referuez les meilleurs morceaux desquels toute la famille se priuera pour les conseruer pour les occasions d'un songe ou de maladie. Le Diable ayant gaigné qu'on luy gardast tousiours & referuast-on le meilleur & le plus beau: Et c'est ce qui donne fuit de les qualifier veri-

give it up, "Alas!" said he, "what is that thou art saying to me? When I go to trade, I have only to open the pouch where he is; I request him to procure for me a porcelain collar of so many beads, or a robe or mantle of so many beaver skins; I throw him, in homage and gratitude, [170] some porcelain beads, and a piece or morsel of beaver; finally, I make the feast; then I go away, and what I have aimed at never fails me. My wife," said he, "trembles when I draw him out to speak to him; but she is a woman." The Father begged that he would let him see it. "Oh, my nephew, what a great favor thou askest!" said he; "but what wilt thou give?" This man passes for one of the wisest and most discreet men of the village; and, in fact, he is! Judge of the rest. This poor wretch has gone to war, with inexpressible regrets on our part, and fears of misfortune that may happen to him, and consequently to his family, which is a large and prominent one.

Another, complaining that his charm had no more power,—either in fishing, or hunting, or trading, but above all, in gambling,—the Father asked him what would be necessary to restore to it its virtue. "A feast," replied the barbarian, "but how? I have neither meat nor fish!"

I do not know how to characterize feasts, as regards our Savages. They are the oil of their ointments, the honey of their medicines, the preparations for their hardships, a star [171] for their guidance, the Alcyon of their repose, the spring of their activities and of their Ascwandics,—in short, the general instrument or condition without which nothing is done. It is to this and for this that the best pieces are reserved, of which the whole family will deprive

tables facrifices, particulièrement lors que le fonge ou la maladie demande le maffacre d'un chien, comme nous auons tantost dit; ce qui n'arriue que trop fouuent.

Mais pour retourner à nos Afc&andics ou diables familiers, la reſponſe commune de ceux que nous perfecutons ſur ce ſujet; eſt, qu'il n'y a perſonne qui n'en ait, & que s'ils n'en auoient, ils feroient en tout & par tout mal-heureux. Il eſt vray, qu'il y a en cela du plus & du moins: quelques vns en ont en nombre & de plus exprés & plus efficaces que les autres. Les vns les acheptent des Nations voiſines, particulièrement des Algonquains qui ſont en reputation d'en auoir d'excellens, [172] & c'eſt la marchandife la plus chere & precieufe du païs, les autres les ont herité de leurs parens. C'eſt de la façon qu'en auoit eu le Chreſtien ſuſmentionné de ce bourg, Ioseph Chih&atenh&a, qui auſſi-toſt qu'il eut appris que cela eſtoit contre les commandemens de Dieu, & luy deſplaifoit, le ietta bien loing au premier voyage qu'il fit: par ou depuis lors qu'il repaſſe, il a toujours peur qu'il ne ſe remette dans ſon ſac, comme il eſt arriué à pluſieurs, qui par deſpit de n'auoir pas eu ce qu'ils auoient demandé ayans ietté leur Afc&andic, l'ont apres trouué, ou dans leur ſac, ou dans quelqu'une de leur quaiſſe.

Ie ne diray rien des Viſiteurs ou Medecins, nommez en leur langue Ocata: ny auſſi des Apotiquaires, ou donneurs de remedes, nommez Ontetſans. Ie diray ſeulement que les premiers ſe ſeruent ſouuent d'eau ou de feu pour recognoiſtre l'eſtat & le mal de la perſonne malade, & prononcer en fuite leurs ordonnances: & ce toujours avec les circonſtances de tortuë

itself in order to save them for the emergencies of a dream or of sickness, the Devil having induced them always to keep and reserve for him the best and finest. And it is this that gives reason to call them veritable sacrifices, especially when the dream or the sickness requires the slaughter of a dog, as we said a little while ago,— which happens only too often.

But to return to our Ascwandics or familiar demons; the common answer of those whom we importune upon this subject is, that there is not one who does not have them, and that, if they did not have them, they would be always and everywhere unlucky. It is true that there is more or less difference in these; some persons have many of them, and some are more positive and efficacious than are others. Some buy them from the neighboring Nations, especially from the Algonquains, who are reputed to have excellent ones, [172] and this is the most costly and precious merchandise of the country; others have inherited them from their relatives. It was in this way that one came into the possession of the above-mentioned Christian of this village, Joseph Chihwatenhwa,— who, as soon as he learned that this was contrary to the commandments of God and displeased him, threw it far away on the first journey he made; and since then, when he passes over that route, he is always afraid that it will return into his pouch,—as has happened to several, who, through vexation at not having obtained what they had asked for, having thrown away their Ascwandic, found it afterwards in their pouch, or in one of their chests.

I will say nothing of the Visitors or Physicians, called in their language "Ocata;" nor of their Apothecaries, or givers of remedies, called "Ontetsans."

qu'ils remuent, dont nous auons parlé cy-deffus, & de chanfon qu'ils chantent, & autres circonftances du tout impertinentes.

[173] Les feconds ne donnent auffi d'ordinaire leurs remedes qu'avec l'appareille de femblables circonftances, & des exhortations à leurs remedes, d'auoir l'effect pretendu. Que fi l'Ocata, ou Vifiteur a prononcé que c'eft vn fort; l'Apotiquaire ou l'Aretfan ne manque pas de faire voir quelque chofe dans fa main par foupleffe ou autrement, & quelquefois dans la matiere qu'il a fait vomir, de ce qui dans le fens commun de ceux du païs paffe pour fort.

Les Xénororons, qui font ces eſtrangers arriuez de nouveau en ce pays, dont nous auons parlé aux Chapitres precedens, font excellens pour tirer vne fleche du corps & en guerir la playe, mais la recepte n'a point de force qu'en prefence d'une femme groſſe: dont le diable a rendu la circonſtance grandement confiderable en ces pays, foit à bon-heur, foit à malheur en mille rencontres & occaſions, mais il faut briſer icy.

En voila affez pour fair voir vn eſchantillon de l'eſtat miſerable de ces pauvres peuples parmy leſquels nous viuons. Ce qui ne peut qui ne donne de la compaſſion à tous ceux qui ont vne foy ſaincte [174] & viue, de ce que les hommes font à Dieu, & Dieu aux hommes, & de ce que nous deuenons apres la mort.

Il prie tous ceux qui ietteront les yeux ſur ce narré de confiderer le beſoin que nous auons de leurs ſainctes prieres & deuotions? veu les combats & batailles que nous auons à liurer & à ſouſtenir tous les iours, pour eſtablir en ce pays vn autre Souuerain

I will only mention that the former often employ water or fire to ascertain the condition and disease of the sick person, and to give their orders accordingly,—this being always accompanied by the shaking of the tortoise, which we have already mentioned, and the singing of songs, and by other altogether senseless adjuncts.

[173] The latter class also do not usually give their remedies except with the pomp of similar accompaniments, and with exhortations to their remedies to attain the desired effect. But if the Ocata, or Visitor, has declared that it is a case of a charm, the Apothecary, or the Aretsan, does not fail to show something in his hand, by dexterity or otherwise, and sometimes in the matter that has been vomited up, which, in the general opinion of the natives, passes for a charm.

The Wenroronons,—those strangers who recently arrived in this country, and of whom we have spoken in preceding Chapters,—excel in drawing an arrow from the body and in curing the wound; but the prescription has no efficacy except in the presence of a pregnant woman, whose condition the devil has rendered highly important in these countries, for good as well as bad luck, in a thousand contingencies and occasions. But we must break off here.

This is enough to give a specimen of the wretched condition of these poor peoples among whom we live, which cannot fail to inspire with compassion all those who possess a holy and living faith [174] in what men are to God, and God is to men, and in what becomes of us after death.

I pray all those who shall cast their eyes over this narrative to consider the need we have of their holy

que celui qui depuis tous les siècles y a si tyranniquement usurpé l'empire de Dieu & de IESVS CHRIST, pour les droicts & la gloire duquel puissions nous tous estre conformez. Ainsi foit-il.



prayers and devotions,—seeing the combats and battles we have to give and sustain every day, in order to establish in this country a Sovereign other than he who, since all ages, has tyrannically usurped the empire of God and of JESUS CHRIST, for whose rights and glory may we all entirely devote ourselves. Amen.

the first of these is the fact that the  
 the second is the fact that the  
 the third is the fact that the  
 the fourth is the fact that the  
 the fifth is the fact that the  
 the sixth is the fact that the  
 the seventh is the fact that the  
 the eighth is the fact that the  
 the ninth is the fact that the  
 the tenth is the fact that the

XXXV — XXXVII

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS, 1640

XXXV.—Lettre du P. Hierosme Lalemant, à Mgr. Cardinal  
Duc de Richelieu ; Des Hurons, 28 mars, 1640

XXXVI.—Epistola Patris Hieronymi Lalemant, ad R. P.  
Mutium Vitelleschi, Præpositum Generalem ;  
Apud Hurones, 1 April., 1640

XXXVII.—Epistola Patris Jacobi Buteux, ad R. P. Mutium  
Vitelleschi, Præpositum Generalem ; Tria Flumina, [1640]

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SOURCE : Document XXXV. is reprinted from Roche-  
monteix's *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France*, vol. i., pp.  
479-481 ; the French original is in the Archives du minis-  
tère des Affaires étrangères, Paris. For Documents XXXVI.  
and XXXVII., we follow Father Felix Martin's apographs  
of the original Latin, *MSS. Soc. Jes.*

[479] Lettre du P. Hierosme Lalemant de la Compagnie de Jésus à Monseigneur l'Éminentissime Cardinal Duc de Richelieu.

Des Hurons en la Nouvelle-France  
28 mars 1640.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Les dernières lettres qui nous sont venues de France l'automne passé, nous ont fait savoir entr'autres choses qu'il avoit plu à Vostre Eminence estendre son zele et sa charité jusques à ce bout du monde où nous sommes, assignant un fond pour l'entretien de quelques uns de nostre Compagnie qui y travaillent à la conversion des barbares. Il faut avouër, Monseigneur, que c'est une des sensibles consolations que nous ayons receu, que de nous voir dans le souvenir d'une personne que les glorieuses actions ont rendu recommandable à toute la postérité: et les espérances que nous avons, du bon succès des affaires que la divine providence nous a mis en main, se sont trouvées accrûes de beaucoup, nous voyant doresnavant employés par celui à qui se mesler d'une affaire et lui causer un bon succès, semble estre une mesme chose. Nous n'avons jamais pensé pouvoir faire à Votre Eminence un remerciement digne d'une telle faveur, mais nous avons bien eu du regret de ne pouvoir faire au moins plustost nous mesmes, celuy que nous pouvions. En atten-

[479] Letter from Father Hierosme Lalemant of  
the Society of Jesus, to Monseigneur the  
Most Eminent Cardinal, Duke  
de Richelieu.

From the Hurons in New France.  
March 28, 1640.

MONSEIGNEUR,

The last letters that came to us from France last autumn made known to us, among other things, that it had pleased Your Eminence to extend your zeal and your charity even to this end of the world, where we are, assigning a fund for the maintenance of some of our Society who work here for the conversion of the barbarians. It must be confessed, Monseigneur, that it is one of the touching consolations that we have received, to see ourselves remembered by a personage whom glorious deeds have rendered deserving of praise from all posterity; and the hopes that we entertain, of a favorable outcome to the affairs that divine providence has placed in our hands, are materially strengthened by seeing ourselves henceforth employed by one to whom taking part in an affair and bringing it to a successful issue, seem to be one and the same thing. We never expected to be able to render Your Eminence thanks worthy of such a favor, but we have deeply regretted our inability to accomplish, at least sooner, what may be in our power. While awaiting the opportunity

dant le moyen de nous en acquitter, nous avons tâché de satisfaire à l'intérêt de ce retardement, par un redoublement de prières envers Dieu pour la santé et prospérité de Vostre Eminence; et voicy maintenant qu'au nom de tous ceux de nostre Compagnie qui sont icy, je luy en fay le plus humble et le plus cordial remerciement qui m'est possible.

Que si Vostre Eminence désire scavoir en peu de mots quel bien a produit sa charité, voicy, Monseigneur, ce que j'en puis dire: On a annoncé l'Evangile à plus de dix mille sauvages, non tant en général, qu'à chaque famille, et presque à chaque personne [480] en particulier: on en a baptisé dans les maladies extraordinaires qui sont survenues plus de mille, dont au moins plusieurs petits enfans s'en sont envolés au Ciel; et pour comble de bonheur, on a enduré force persécutions.

Nous trouvans assés forts de langue, pour nous estendre encore davantage, nous ne songeons qu'au plus ultra; mais il faut avouër que les difficultés en sont du tout extraordinaires.

J'abuserais de la patience de Vostre Eminence, de les luy déclarer plus particulièrement; je lui diré seulement que nous avons icy toutes les difficultés de ceux qui ont travaillé en ces derniers siècles à la conversion des gentils, ou d'autres, qui pour le moins les esgalent; et nous n'avons, ny ne pouvons avoir, les secours et assistances qu'ont eu les autres pais. Cela ne nous fait aucunement perdre courage, nous souvenant du Maistre, qui nous applique à cette partie de son champ; au contraire, nous ne sommes pas peu consolés de nous voir engagés par son ordre à un employ, où nous sommes contraints de dépendre uniquement de sa Providence, et assistance.

for acquitting ourselves thereof, we have tried to make amends, with interest, for this delay by redoubling our prayers to God for the health and prosperity of Your Eminence; and here I now offer you, in the name of all those of our Society who are here, the most humble and most cordial thanks that I am able to express.

Now if Your Eminence desire to know in a few words what good your charity has accomplished, this, Monseigneur, is what I can say: The Gospel has been announced to more than ten thousand savages, not only in general, but to each family, and almost to every person [480] individually; more than a thousand have been baptized, in the extraordinary epidemics which have come upon them, and of these many little children, at least, have taken flight to Heaven; and to crown this good fortune, we have endured many persecutions.

Finding ourselves strong enough in the language to launch out still more, all our thoughts are of the *plus ultra*; but it must be confessed that the difficulties therein are altogether extraordinary.

I would abuse the patience of Your Eminence by mentioning these in more detail; I will only say that we have here all the difficulties of those who have labored in these later centuries for the conversion of the Gentiles, or others that are at least equal to them,—and we have not, nor can we have, the succor and assistance that the other countries have had. This causes us in no wise to lose courage, keeping in mind the Master who assigns us to this part of his field; on the contrary, we are not a little consoled at seeing ourselves engaged by his order in an occupation in which we are obliged to depend solely upon his Providence and aid.

Entre les difficultés que nous apprehendons plus grandes que jamais, au progrès des affaires de sa divine Majesté, est le voisinage des Anglais et Flamans, qui bordent les costes de l'océan de nostre costé, et qui rehaussent et fortifient puissamment le courage des ennemis des peuples qui sont nos alliés, parmy lesquels nous vivons, et par le seul moyen desquels nous pouvons passer plus avant soit au midy, soit à l'occident. Les entreprises de ces nations ennemies leur ayant, particulièrement depuis quelques années, réussi à souhait, ils ont réduit ces pauvres peuples icy à un tel poinct, que je ne croy pas que, si on n'arreste le mal en sa source, il puissent plus longtemps subsister; c'est ce qu'on accordera facilement si on considère qu'en moins de dix ans, ils se trouvent réduits du nombre de trente mille ames à celui de dix mille; de sorte que si par le passé, dans la multitude qu'ils étoient, ils n'ont pu résister à leurs ennemis, qu'en pouvons nous esperer à l'avenir?

Et quoy qu'ils se trouvassent assez puissans pour y résister encore quelque temps dans leur pais, il se faudroit au moins attendre, d'en voir bientôt le commerce entierement rompu avec nos françois, les ennemis devenant tous les ans plus puissans, et plus redoutables sur la rivière qui est l'unique passage qu'ils [481] ayent pour y arriver: cette rupture nous seroit esgale à leur ruine, puisqu'elle nous mettroit dans l'impuissance de subsister icy plus longtemps, et y faire les affaires de nostre Maistre, cela ne se pouvant sans communication avec nostre France.

Oserais-je, Monseigneur, dire la dessus à Vostre Eminence une de mes pensées, qu'il semble que le ciel attende de son zèle et de sa générosité, que comme elle n'a pu souffrir que l'heresie et les estran-



Among the difficulties that we apprehend to be more formidable than ever to the progress of the affairs of his divine Majesty, is the proximity of the English and Flemish, who line the seacoasts on our side, and who excite and strongly fortify the courage of the enemies of the tribes allied to us, among whom we live, and by whose means alone we can advance farther, either to the south or to the west. The enterprises of these hostile nations having succeeded, especially within a few years, according to their desires, they have reduced these poor peoples here to such a degree that I do not think, unless the evil be stopped at its source, that they can much longer exist. This will be readily granted, when one considers that in less than ten years they have become reduced from thirty thousand souls to ten thousand; so that if in the past, when their numbers were great, they were unable to resist their enemies, what can we expect for them in the future?

And although they might prove strong enough to resist them for some time yet in their own country, we must at least expect soon to see their trade with our French entirely broken off,—for the enemies become every year stronger and more formidable upon the river, which is the only road they [481] have for access thither. This rupture would be, for us, equivalent to their ruin, since it would render us unable to subsist here longer, and to carry on among them the affairs of our Master, which cannot be done without communication with our France.

Might I dare, Monseigneur, to express thereupon to Your Eminence one of my thoughts,—that it seems as if heaven expects from your zeal and generosity that, as you could not suffer heresy and for-

gers jettassent en France de plus grandes racines, aussy ne permette elle pas qu'en ce nouveau fleuron de la couronne, ils y prennent pié. Il semble jusques icy, que Dieu a eu aggréable de reserver à Vostre Eminence l'exécution de tous les desirs et souhaits de la France, voire mesme pour le regard de la nouvelle. On demandait autrefois avec tant d'ardeur l'expulsion des huguenots qui tenaient le milieu de ces terres; sans Vostre Eminence, qui a pour ce sujet sacrifié ses propres intérêts, la chose serait encore à faire, au grand préjudice du bien de ce pays: je tiens pour assuré, que de cent ans d'icy, et peut-estre jamais, nous ne nous voïrons quittes de ces autres ennemis de Dieu et de l'Estat, si Vostre Eminence ne met la main à cet ouvrage. Peut estre que les avantages que l'on feroit à quelque particulier assisté de vos faveurs, Monseigneur, et de l'autorité de sa Majesté, leveroient bien des difficultés, qui se pourrout rencontrer en ce dessein; mais il nous suffit pour en bien espérer que Vostre Eminence l'ayt agréé. J'espère, Monseigneur, que vous me pardonnerez cette liberté; mais je m'assure que Vostre Eminence le feroit encore plus volontiers, si elle pouvait connoistre l'inclination et l'affection avec laquelle [nous] tous tant qui sommes icy de nostre Compagnie, souhaitons et demandons à Dieu la conservation, et le comble de tant de bénédictions que son infinie liberalité a versé sur elle, mais moy particulièrement qui suis,

Monseigneur,

Les Hurons en la Nouvelle-France, ce 28 de mars 1640.

Vostre tres humble, tres obeissant, e très obligé serviteur selon Dieu.

Hierosme LALEMANT,  
de la Compagnie de Jésus.

eigners to take deeper root in France, so you will not permit them to gain a foothold in this new jewel of the crown? It would seem that, hitherto, God has been pleased to reserve to Your Eminence the execution of all the desires and wishes of France, even as regards new France. Some time ago, the expulsion of the Huguenots, who occupied the midst of these lands, was so eagerly desired; without Your Eminence, who for this object sacrificed your own interests,<sup>11</sup> the thing would still remain to be done, to the great detriment of the welfare of this country. I regard it as certain, that not for a hundred years hence, and perhaps never, shall we see ourselves rid of these other enemies of God and of the State, if Your Eminence do not put your hand to this work. Perhaps the advantages that might accrue to some individual assisted by your favors, Monseigneur, and by the authority of his Majesty, would remove many of the difficulties that may be encountered in this plan; but it is enough for us to hope that it may be acceptable to Your Eminence. I trust, Monseigneur, that you will pardon me this liberty, but I am sure that Your Eminence would do so still more willingly if you could know the interest and affection with which all of our Society who are here desire, and request from God, the continuance and the plenitude of the many blessings that his infinite liberality has poured out upon you,—but especially I, who am,

Monseigneur,

The Hurons, New France, Your most humble, most  
this 28th of March, 1640. obedient, and most

obliged servant in God,  
Hierosme LALEMAN,  
of the Society of Jesus.

Epistola Patris Hieronymi Lalemant, Superioris  
Missionis Huronensis, ad Reverendissimum  
Patrem Mutium Vitelleschi, Præ-  
positum Generalem Socie-  
tatis Jesu, Romæ.

**M** ISSIONES habuimus 5 in his huronum regio-  
nibus: amplius quam 10,000 barbaris prædi-  
cantium Evangelium, idq. singulis eorum  
familiis. Linguam habebamus et ipsi aures. Deo  
in quibusdam occasionibus ministri defectum sup-  
plente, et tamen dum sani corpore fuerunt, non au-  
dierunt: placuit igitur Deo aures vellere per quoddam  
pestilentiaë genus, quod universam regionem pervasit  
et plures sepulchro addixit, verum nihilo meliores  
facti sunt, immo solito amplius exacerbati, in nos  
tanquam in autores om̃ium suorum malorum conversi  
sunt: nescio quibus nos calumniis non oppresserunt,  
ventum ad minas, ad infestationem, ad privata et  
generalia de internecione nostra consilia, ad verbera  
denique sed levia et nondum sanguine multo tincta;  
aliquid amplius nisi Deus aliter statuatur, prima occa-  
sione suspicamur et speramus. . . . Certe mi-  
rari satis non possumus quod nunc etiam vivimus;  
nam præterquam quod sine ullo milite, aut loci  
præsidio hic sumus, cum ne una quidem frumenti pa-

Letter from Father Jerome Lalemant, Superior  
of the Huron Mission, to the Very Reverend  
Father Mutio Vitelleschi,  
General of the Society of  
Jesus, at Rome.

WE have had 5 Missions in these regions of the Hurons,—preaching the Gospel to more than 10,000 barbarians, and that to their several families. We had the tongue, and they themselves the ears,—God on certain occasions supplying the want of a minister,—and yet, while they were sound in body, they did not hear; it therefore pleased God to pull their ears through a certain kind of pestilence, which spread over the whole country, and adjudged many to the grave. Nevertheless, they have become nowise better,—nay, they are even more incensed at us than usual, and have turned upon us as if we were the authors of all their troubles. I know not with what calumnies they have not loaded us; they have come to threats, to hostility, to private and public councils respecting our slaughter, and finally to blows,—but light ones, and not yet stained with much blood. We suspect and look for something further, on the first occasion, unless God determine otherwise. . . . Certainly, we cannot sufficiently wonder that we are even now alive; for—besides the fact that we are here without any soldier or local defense,—since we have not even a grain of

trii granum nisi barbaris illis vendentibus habeamus, ne sine ipsis ab ullo aut ulla ratione habere hactenus potuerimus, facillimum erat ipsis, et nunc adhuc est vel ex conducto victum negando, eoque tendere visi sunt pervenire: et tamen quæ fuit erga nos Dei providentia, nec nobis, nec domesticis nostris 27 scilicet capitibus, nihil quicquam defuit eorum quæ his in locis ad victum et vestitum sunt usui immo et viliori pretio omnia nobis quam indigenis ipsis, abunde supeditata.

Cæterum nequicquam fremente dæmone, ex moribundis baptisati plus 1000, inter quos infantes pluri mi vitam infelicem felici morte prævenerunt. Istud nos feliciter dicam, an infeliciter fefellet, cum enim non exiguos nascentis ecclesiæ nostræ progressus hoc anno speraremus, ecclesiam quidem nova prole fecundavimus, sed non eam quam intendebamus, de militanti enim erat cogitatio nostra, et providit Deus triumphanti. Is enim fuit his temporibus persecutionis turbo ut non tantum nulla facta fuerit ad militantem nostram ecclesiam accessio, verum etiam congregatam illam superiore anno, pene omnino dispersarit et aboleverit: suspicamur eum forte ordinem esse in decretis Dei, et per triumphantem barbarorum nostrorum ecclesiam, militans hæc statuatur; Dominus est, quod bonum est in oculis suis faciat; certe semen nobis reliquit, sed exiguum illud et tenue, capita tria vel quatuor familiarum, anus aliquot semen omnino sinapis dicas, aut fermentum illud

native corn, except as these barbarians sell it,—nor without them have we hitherto been able to obtain it from any one or by any process—it was therefore, and certainly is now, very easy for them by convention to cut off our food, and this they have apparently striven to accomplish. And yet, such has been God's providence toward us that neither for us nor for our 27 domestics, forsooth, has anything at all been wanting of those things which in these places are usual in the way of food and clothing: nay, even, all things were abundantly supplied to us at a cheaper rate than to the natives themselves.

But, the demon raging in vain, more than 1,000 were baptized from among the dying, among whom a great number of children prevented an unhappy life by a happy death. This, I will say, deceived us, whether happily or unhappily; for, while we hoped for no small progress in our infant church this year, we did indeed enrich the church with a new offspring, but not the one which we had in mind: for our thought was of the church militant, whereas God provided for the church triumphant. For such was the disturbance in these times of persecution, that not only has no addition been made to our church militant, but even the one congregated last year has been almost altogether dispersed and disbanded: we surmise that this disposition is perhaps in the decrees of God, and that, through the triumphant church of our barbarians, this militant one may be established. He is the Lord: let him do what is good in his sight. Certainly he has left us a seed, but that a small and scanty one,—three or four heads of families, a few old women,—a seed altogether as of mustard you may say, or that hidden leaven of the gospel, and

evangelii absconditum, atque utinam! verum quid  
non speramus adjuti Væ Pis vix et totius Societatis  
nostræ SS. et pp. . . .

apud hurones in nova Gallia

1 april. 1640

A. R. P. V.

servus humill. et obseq. idemq.  
fil. in C. indig.

HIERON. LALEMANT.



would it might be that! What indeed do we not hope in the way of help from Your Paternity and from the Sacrifices and prayers of our whole Society? . . .

Among the Hurons in new France,

1 April, 1640.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's  
most humble and obedient and  
likewise unworthy son in Christ,

JEROME LALEMANT.

Epistola Patris Jacobi Buteux ad Reverendissimum  
Patrem Mutium Vitelleschi, Præpositum  
Generalem Societatis Jesu, Romæ.

A. R. IN X<sup>o</sup> P.

P.C.

Sex anni sunt, cum missus in canadensem provinciam totidem annos in residentia. Conceptæ B. V. ad tria flumina peregi. De qua paucis scribere ad V. P. ex officio. Quartum jam annum superioris habeo. Quod si adhuc non præstiti, dabit hoc potius animo pusillo vel ignorantiae vitio quam negligentiae.

Sita est hæc residentia ad ripas fluminis quod à septentrionali parte in celeberrimum St<sup>i</sup> Laurentii flumen per tres alv[e]jos influit. cœlum habet salubre, solum vero ferendis frugibus, tum nostratibus tritico scilicet, ordeo, pisis, cujusque generis oleribus, tum indicis seminibus idoneum. frequentibus undique fluviis ac stagnis, iisque piscibus abundantissimis intersecatur. Vnde fit ut a Gallis juxta ac sylvestribus ametur. hi non ita multi cum primum huc appulimus imo et sequentibus 4 annis nos quasi letalis morbi (quo absumebantur) autores publice conviteabantur. Sed tandem (quod est Dei beneficium) procul ab eorum mentibus recessit hæc opinio. Parentum loco nos habent, mansuetiores fiunt, et qui

Letter from Father Jacques Buteux to the Very  
Reverend Father, Mutio Vitelleschi, General  
of the Society of Jesus, at Rome.

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,  
Pax Christi.

Six years have elapsed since I was sent to the Canadian province; I have spent the same number of years in the residence of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin at the three rivers, concerning which I have a few things to write to Your Paternity officially. I am now serving my fourth year as superior. But if hitherto I have not fulfilled this office, you will assign the fact rather to my limited mind or to the fault of ignorance, than to neglect.

This residence is situated on the banks of a river which flows into the very famous river Saint Lawrence by three mouths, from the north. The climate is salubrious; the soil, indeed, adapted to bearing fruits not only for our fellow countrymen,—namely, wheat, barley, peas, and vegetables of every kind,—but also Indian grains. It is everywhere cut up by numerous rivers and marshes; and these are very abundant in fish. Whence it happens that it is loved nearly as much by the French as by the savages. These, not in very great numbers, publicly abused us when we first landed here,—and that, too, in the following 4 years,—as the authors of a certain mortal disease (by which they were consumed). But finally (which is a favor from God), this opinion has

ultra hominum memoriam quærendo per sylvas victu assuescebant, agros hoc anno sedesque fixas juxta nos habere cœperunt. Magnum certe imo et necessarium adjumentum ad illos informandos, continendosque in officio christiano. Crescit in dies crescetque illorum numerus. Alios enim sylvestres tum finitimos tum remotos quibuscum agunt muneribus ad nos pellicere sibique concives adsciscere nituntur. frequentes intersunt iis quæ spectant ad pietatem cultumq. divinum. Ab eo tempore quo versamur inter eos hic ad 500 sacris aquis lustravimus quorum plerique (infantes certe) cœlo fruuntur. Alii non minus assidui sunt in obeundis hominis christiani partibus, quam nostrates Galli aliunde sane pii, quibus adagium immerito tribuebatur. cœlum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt. Adeo ut tritum sit inter Gallos qui velit melior fieri transeat in novam franciam.

Ad hoc magnopere confert Gubernatoris hujusce novi orbis Dni. Montmagny, militensis eques viri sane satis nunquam laudati, singularis prudentia, quæ non vulgari adjuncta pietati omnia continet in officio. Sed de hac nostra residentia jam satis.

De superioribus novæ franciæ partibus dicam breviter quod a sylvestribus accepi, septentrionem inter meridiemq. fixæ sunt nationes oppidis hominibusq. numerosissimæ. Ad illas Europæorum nemo, necdum Evangelii præco accessit, saltem Europæus. De barbaris aliquis ad quasdam eorum perferre potuit

receded far from their minds. They regard us as parents; they become gentler; and those who beyond the memory of men were accustomed to seek their living through the forests, begin this year to have fields and fixed abodes the same as we. It is surely a great, nay, even a necessary, help for training them and keeping them in the Christian duty. Their number grows and will increase from day to day. For they strive to allure to us, by means of rewards, other savages, both neighboring and remote, with whom they deal; and to unite these with themselves as fellow citizens. They are frequently interested in those things which regard piety and divine worship. Since we have been occupied among them, we have here purified about 500 with the sacred waters; most of whom (certainly the children) are enjoying heaven. Others are no less assiduous in discharging the duties of a Christian man than our French fellow countrymen,—truly pious, moreover; to whom the adage was unjustly applied, *cælum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*,—insomuch that it is proverbial among the French, that “he who wishes to become better, let him cross over to new France.”

To this there greatly contributes the singular prudence of the Governor of this new world—the Sieur de Montmagny, a military man surely never sufficiently praised—which, in connection with an uncommon piety, keeps all things in due order. But enough of this our residence.

Concerning the upper parts of new France, I will briefly say what I have learned from the savages: between the north and the south are some stationary nations, greatly abounding in towns and men. To these, no European, nor yet a herald of the Gospel,

quod a nobis audivit de evangelio; bene spero de nostris sylvestribus christianis. horum enim beneficio (juvante Deo) patebit aditus Evangelio ejusq. lumen affulgebit ambulanti in tenebris et umbra mortis.

Ad opus tam arduum opus est hoībus bonæ valetudinis, felicitis memoriæ probatæq. virtutis. Sunt hic ubi jam degimus obviæ passim cruces (ut ita loquar) at illic tota nostrorum vita quos Spiritus sanctus ad suum opus segregavit tota crux erit. Quod de me futurum sit ignoro. Quod si me divina bonitas (nil sub meritum) tanti boni participem faciat, o me beatum! qui ad impleam in corpore meo quæ desunt passionum Christi. Interim sacris vestræ P. genibus advolvar a qua pusillus sacram benedictionem præstolabor.

A. R. in C. P.

humill. in D. fil.

JACOBUS BUTEUX

In Residentia Conceptionis

ad 3 flumina.

has come,—at least not a European herald. Some one of the barbarians may have conveyed to certain of these nations what he has heard of the gospel from us. I hope well of our Christian savages: for by their favor (God helping), entrance for the Gospel will be opened, and its light will shine upon them that walk in darkness and in the shadow of death.

For a work so arduous there is need of men of good health, excellent memory, and proved virtue. There are here where we have already lived, crosses everywhere at hand (so to speak), but there the whole of our life,—of those whom the holy Ghost has set apart for his work,—will be one whole cross. What is to become of me, I know not. But if the divine goodness make me (not at all through my deserts) partaker of so great a good,—O happy me! who shall fulfill in my body what sufferings are wanting to Christ. Meanwhile I am prostrate at your Paternity's sacred knees: whose holy blessing I shall humbly expect.

Very Reverend Father in Christ,  
your most humble son in the Lord,  
JACQUES BUTEUX.

At the Residence of the Conception  
at 3 rivers.





## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. XVII

### XXXIV

For bibliographical particulars of this document, see Vol. XV.

### XXXV-XXXVII

Document XXXV. is a letter sent by Jerome Lalemant to Cardinal Richelieu, from the Huron country, under date of March 28, 1640. The original French MS. is in the archives of the minister of Foreign Affairs, in Paris. We follow the version given in Rochemonteix's *Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France*, vol. i., pp. 479-481.

Document XXXVI. is a Latin letter written to the Father General by Lalemant, also from the Huron country, under date of April 1. The original is in the archives of the Society. We follow Father Felix Martin's apograph thereof, made by him while in Europe in 1858, and now in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal.

Document XXXVII. is also a Latin letter to the Father General, written by Jacques Buteux, at Three Rivers. It is undated, but internally bears evidence of having been sent in 1640. The original is in the Society's archives; we follow Father Martin's apograph, as above.



## NOTES TO VOL. XVII

(*Figures in parentheses, following number of note, refer to pages of English text.*)

1 (p. 25).—Regarding the Wenrôhronons, see vol. xvi., *note* 15.

2 (p. 49).—The arms, utensils, ornaments, and dress introduced by the French, in their barter for peltries, were at once seen by the Indians to be superior to those manufactured by themselves, and were eagerly sought. The French early induced the natives to turn their attention almost exclusively to the hunting of fur-bearing animals,—to this end teaching them the use of European firearms. The tribesmen finding it easier to acquire what goods they needed by trading furs for them, many of the arts of domestic manufacture were soon lost among them; and, in time, they became almost wholly dependent on white traders for their supplies.

3 (p. 59).—For location of Teanaustayaé, see vol. xiii., *note* 2; also map in vol. x., facing p. 319.

4 (p. 65).—For sketch of this and of the other Iroquois clans, see vol. viii., *note* 34.

5 (p. 99).—Martin (*Life of Jogues*, app. A.) is correct in saying that there were two missions bearing the name of St. Ignace. The one captured by the Iroquois in 1649 was apparently thus named but a short time before its destruction (*Relation* of 1648, chap. ix.); it was not more than five miles from Ste. Marie-on-the-Wye.

The other, known by the Hurons as Taenhatentaron, is placed by Lalemant (*Relation* of 1644, chap. vii.) at a distance of about six leagues from Ste. Marie; this is evidently the St. Ignace marked on Du Creux's map as near Sturgeon River. Martin inclined to the view that this mission was situated on what is now the Fox farm—lot no. 20, in concession 10 of Medonte township, on the slope facing Coldwater River; for, when he visited the district (1845; see vol. v., p. 295), the remains found on this farm were upon the only site then known in the neighborhood. In subsequent years, however, when the forest came to be cleared, remains indicating other sites were found from two to three miles west of this one, and facing Sturgeon River. One of these corresponds more closely than does the Fox site, with the reference in the text to Taenhatentaron, as being about five miles from St. Joseph (Teanaustayaé), and also with the

position assigned to that village by Du Creux; it also furnishes better evidence in other respects.

Taché appears to have overlooked the distinction between the two villages named St. Ignace. He minutely examined the site on the Fox farm in the mistaken belief that it was the scene of Brébeuf's and Lalemant's martyrdom (Parkman's *Jesuits*, p. 385, note),—in this, adopting Martin's view, and also forgetting that there was a second St. Ignace; so that the site thus designated by him does not correspond with the true position of either mission. The St. Ignace at which the martyrs perished was in the present Tay township, about ten miles distant from Taenhatentaron.—A. F. HUNTER.

6 (p. 159).—See Brébeuf's account of the game of dish, in vol. x., pp. 187, 189. Cf. Davis's "Indian Games," in *Essex Inst. Bull.*, vol. xvii., pp. 106–114; by him it is called "the game of platter."

7 (p. 161).—This "resuscitation" of a dead person is thus described by Sagard (*Voy. Hurons*, pp. 289, 290): "The Attiuindarons celebrate Resurrections of the dead,—especially of persons who deserved well of the country by their signal services,—in order that the memory of illustrious and valourous men may, in some sort, live again in others. Accordingly, they convene assemblies for this purpose, and hold councils, at which they choose one of their number who has the same virtues and characteristics (if such a person can be found), as he whom they purpose to resuscitate,—or, at least, his life must be without reproach among a Savage people. Proceeding, then, to the Resurrection, they all stand upright, except him who is to raise the dead; on him they impose the name of the deceased, and all, placing their hands low down, feign to raise him from the ground,—meaning by this that they draw out of the tomb that eminent deceased personage, and bring him back to life in the person of this other man. The latter stands up, and, after loud acclamations from the people, he receives the gifts offered by those who are present, who repeat their congratulations at many feasts, and thenceforth regard him as if he were the deceased person whom he represents. Thus the memory of good persons, and of worthy and valourous Captains, never dies among them." The names given by the Indians to the missionaries were, in accordance with this custom, continued to their respective successors,—as *Echon*, passing from Brébeuf to Chaumonot (vol. v., note 44); and *Teharonhiagannra*, as Le Mercier and Milet were entitled by the Iroquois, was their name, two hundred years later, for Father Marcoux (Shea's *Cath. Missions*, p. 345). Cf. "Patliasse," among the Micmacs (vol. i., note 25).

Of interest, in this connection, is a phase of the belief in transmigration of souls, current among the tribes of the Northwest, thus

described by Dorman (*Prim. Superstitions*, p. 45): "The medicine-men of the Cocomes pretend to receive the spirit of the dead in their hands, and are able to transfer it to any one, who then takes the name of the dead person. When a body is burned among the Taculies, the priest receives the spirit of the deceased into his hands; and, with a motion as though throwing it, he blows the spirit into some person selected, who takes the name of the deceased in addition to his own."

8 (p. 165).—*Otay*: probably the black squirrel, then abundant in the region of the Great Lakes, and valued for its fur. Sagard thus describes the Huron *Otay* (*Voy. Hurons*, p. 308), which he probably fails to class among the squirrels of that country (pp. 305–306) only because of its size—the other Canadian species of squirrel being much smaller than those of France: "They have another species of animal named *Otay*, as large as a small Rabbit; this has very black fur, so soft, smooth, and fine that it resembles plush. They highly value these skins, of which they make robes, placing around the edges of these all the heads and tails." This sort of trimming suggests to Lafitau "the Amices of the Canons." Charlevoix (*Nouv. France*, vol. i., p. 273) says: "But the finest Peltry of this [Iroquois] country is the skin of the black Squirrel. This animal is as large as a Cat three months old; it is exceedingly agile, but very gentle and easily caught. The Iroquois make robes of this, which they sell for as much as seven or eight pistoles." Cf. Le Jeune (vol. vii. of this series, p. 13).

9 (p. 167).—Cf. Brébeuf's description of Ononharoia and other superstitious rites (vol. x., pp. 175, 183).

10 (p. 191).—*Brenesche*: the wild goose of Canada (*Bernicla canadensis*, Baird; *Anser canadensis*, Audubon), or *outarde* (Prov. *austarda*, from Lat. *avis tarda*); it is especially abundant along the lower St. Lawrence and the Atlantic coast.

11 (p. 225).—Reference is here made to the compensation given to the De Caens for their losses in connection with the dissolution of their company by Montmorency, and, later, with Kirk's capture of Quebec; see vol. iv., pp. 257, 258. Cf. Le Jeune's allusion (vol. viii., p. 229): "They rejoice to be delivered from the importunity of a man whose hands it has been necessary to bind with chains of gold."









17. 99.



